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**FURTHER STUDIES IN
THE PRAYER-BOOK**



FURTHER STUDIES IN THE PRAYER BOOK

BY

JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., Hon. LL.D. (EDIN.)

BISHOP OF EDINBURGH

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

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PREFACE

THE following pages are to some extent a continuation of the line of study pursued in *The Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*. More attention is here given to the possible influence of German Service-Books (or Directories for Worship); and use has been made of the original (German) form of Archbishop Hermann's *Deliberatio*, with some interesting results.

The paper on "Our Alms and Oblations" appeared, almost as it stands, in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (vol. i.), and the discussion of the Minatory Clauses of the Athanasian Creed has also (with some few differences) already appeared in print, in pamphlet form. The discussion of some of the problems presented by the Prayer of Humble Access, added as an Appendix, appeared in the *Irish Church Quarterly* for January 1908. And much of what is said on the influence of the original form of Archbishop Hermann's work (as distinguished from the Latin *Simplex ac pia Deliberatio*) on

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our forms for Private Baptism may be found in an article contributed to the columns of the *Guardian* (21st August 1907). My thanks are tendered to the several Editors for permission to make use of these materials in the present volume.

The first essay, it is hoped, may be of service to those of the younger clergy who may desire to place on their book-shelves some of the more important works which help to the elucidation of the history, structure, and meaning of the Prayer-Book.

The opportunity may be taken here for correcting two errors in *The Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, which were not discovered till after the appearance of the second edition. At p. 132 the collect for the first Sunday after Easter is wrongly attributed to Bishop Cosin; it is really the old Collect for Tuesday in Easter week, transferred in 1662 to the next Sunday. At p. 134 it is stated that before 1661 the Collect for Easter Day was used through the whole of Easter week, while, in fact, Easter Tuesday had its own proper collect.

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FURTHER STUDIES IN THE PRAYER-BOOK

I

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CRITICISM
AND DEFENCE OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER,
AND OF LATER INQUIRIES INTO ITS SOURCES,
STRUCTURE, AND MEANING

THE criticism of great changes, whether political or religious, is inevitable at the times when the changes are contemplated, propounded, and given effect. But it is the criticism of eager combatants who are keen to detect weak places in the armour of the enemy, and who, sometimes, lay about them right and left with much passion and little discrimination. Men's feelings are roused, and the clash of varying opinion and sentiment resounds, and its echoes reach the streets. The dispassionate study of the motives which suggested, and the principles which underlie the changes, and the study of the processes of reconstruction, come much later.

The liturgical and ritual changes in England in the middle of the sixteenth century were

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not effected without much controversy. The learned disputed, and disputed with ability, on questions of doctrine, as doctrine was supposed to be set forth or obscured in the new English service book. And it was not difficult to rouse demonstrations against change among the people, more especially in the remoter parts of the country.

The First Prayer-Book had scarcely come into use before it was assailed both by popular clamour and by the protests of men of the Old Learning. The attack was mainly on the Eucharistic teaching of the new Prayer-Book—on what it taught, and what it omitted to teach, as contrasted with the missals of Rome and of mediæval England. Dr Richard Smith, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Bishop Stephen Gardiner were the leaders of attack, while Archbishop Cranmer undertook the defence. The question at issue was essentially dogmatic, and the Prayer-Book was dealt with only so far as it related to dogma. In Cranmer's great book, the *Answers* to Gardiner (and incidentally to Smith), the author, when occasion arises, defends the Prayer-Book of 1549, and claims for it that "in the manner of the Holy Communion now set forth within this realm" it is agreeable with the institution of Christ and with "the

old primitive and apostolic Church.”¹ In the illustration of Cranmer’s sense of the teaching of the First Prayer-Book, as regards both the Presence and the Sacrifice in the Eucharist, nothing can be more illuminative than the *Answers*. Yet one cannot but think that some of Gardiner’s lines of attack were felt by Cranmer to expose weak points—weak, I mean, from Cranmer’s dogmatic position—in the language of the First Prayer-Book. And certainly in the Second Book changes were made which removed from the Service for the Holy Communion some of the particulars on which Gardiner had laid stress.²

After the accession of Elizabeth the attack on the Prayer-Book came from a different quarter. Many of the exiles during the reign of Mary returned from abroad with a dislike to certain of the provisions of the English Prayer-Book, a dislike which soon showed itself in a measure of actual nonconformity, more or less great. As years went by, the Puritan party grew in numbers and in organisation; and before the close of the reign formal indictments against many of the features of the Prayer-Book had to be met. The ablest of

¹ *Answers*, p. 354.

² This is ably dealt with by Gasquet and Bishop in *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, chap. xvi.

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the Puritan leaders was Thomas Cartwright, and against him the immortal Hooker did not think it unworthy to direct the whole force of his wide learning and splendid powers of argument. In the fifth book of the *Laws of Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1597) we have a reasoned defence of a large number of those expressions and directions of the Prayer-Book to which Cartwright had taken exception. The first book of the *Ecclesiasticall Politie* is indeed a work exhibiting greater genius, a wider outlook, and more philosophic insight; but the fifth will always remain a monument of lucid reasoning based upon extensive learning and a masterly possession of great and fundamental principles. Here and there the history and antiquities of worship and ceremonial are touched, or slightly dealt with; but the special object of the work was to answer particular objections, and the opponents with whom Hooker was concerned were not such as to attach any great value to ancient precedents or human authority, however venerable. Hence Hooker, in the main, discusses each of the objections on its merits, and on the grounds of reason. Is it a rational objection? Is it well founded? What is the general principle on which this objection is based? Is it sound? Does the general principle admit of

no exceptions or modifications? Is it applicable in the present case?

For the attainment of his object Hooker's method was effective where history and ancient precedent would have signally failed. And to this day the closely reasoned arguments of Hooker are vivid, powerful, and practically serviceable; while some few of his excursions into the history of liturgical formulas show that some of his knowledge had need to be corrected, or supplemented, by further research. His acquaintance with Holy Scripture, patristic literature, and the Schoolmen was extensive; but it is as a thinker that he stands out pre-eminent.

It is not discreditable to Hooker that he believed, with other learned men of his day, that the Creed of St Athanasius was the composition of the great bishop whose name it bears, and that it was exhibited to Julius, Bishop of Rome, and afterwards sent to the Emperor Jovian.¹ Even in our own day, a writer who in other departments has left a meritorious record of good work, Mr J. S. Brewer, Preacher at the Rolls, had the boldness to coquet with the notion that the creed might be the work of Athanasius himself.²

¹ *E. P. V.* xiii. 6.

² *The Athanasian Origin of the Athanasian Creed*, 1872.

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As regards the Apostles' Creed, if Hooker had lived in later times, he would doubtless have expressed himself more cautiously than when he wrote, "We have from the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ received that brief confession of faith which hath been always a badge of the Church, a mark whereby to discern Christian men from Infidels and Jews."¹

Again, Hooker is almost certainly in error when he supposes that when St Basil speaks of *αι Λιτανιαι* (*Epist.* lxiii.) he uses the word litany in the technical sense in which it was used in later days.² And therefore we cannot admit that he has made good his claim to so early a use of what we now know as "Litanies." Other examples of imperfect information and doubtful inference could be added.

But these, and such-like blots, do not affect the weighty and powerful defence which Hooker makes both on behalf of the general structure of the English Prayer-Book and on behalf of many of the particular features against which Cartwright and the Puritan party raised objections.

On a score of such questions and complaints as are still not unknown among us, no better

¹ *E. P.* V. xiii. 1.

² *Ibid.* V. xiii. 2.

or more effective replies can be found than those of Hooker.

A few examples may be cited by giving pregnant sentences that sum up long arguments:—(1) Is a distinctive dress for the officiating clergy objected to? We have the answer in a nutshell, when Hooker says, "To solemn acts of royalty and justice their suitable ornaments are a beauty. Are they only in religion a stain?" (2) For change of attitude at certain parts of the service we may be content with what Hooker says:—"When we make profession of our faith we stand; when we acknowledge our sins or seek unto God for favour, we fall down; because the gesture of constancy becometh us best in the one, in the other the behaviour of humility." As to standing up at the reading of the liturgical Gospel, he bases it on custom, prompted by the desire to show greater reverence when we hear what "our Lord Christ himself either spake, did, or suffered in his own person." But he is content to describe it as a "harmless ceremony."¹ (3) The excessive length of the

¹ Hooker (*E. P. V.* xxx. 3) adds that "no man is constrained to use" this ceremony, or "the acclamation" after the announcement of the Gospel, or bowing at the name of Jesus. The rubrical direction at the Gospel, "the people all standing up," was not in Elizabeth's Prayer-Book; it was added in 1662.

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service on a Sunday morning, where Matins, Litany, and Holy Communion are said in immediate succession, is often objected to. If there is a reasonable foundation for the objection, the Church could doubtless devise a way of meeting the objection in practice. But there is one element in the consideration of the question which should not be allowed to slip out of sight, and which has been admirably put by Hooker when he says, "We somewhat the rather incline to length, lest over-quick despatch of a duty so important should give the world occasion to deem that the thing itself is but little accounted of, wherein but little time is bestowed. Length thereof is a thing which the gravity and weight of such actions doth require."¹ (4) The Puritans objected to the prayer in the Litany that we should be preserved "from sudden death" . . . "because the godly should be always prepared to die." It is an objection not unknown to-day. Let us listen to the beautiful reply of Hooker:—"Somewhat there is why a virtuous mind should rather wish to depart this world with

¹ Hooker says that when the whole form of prayer is read, and "an *hour* allowed for a sermon, we spend ordinarily in both more time than they [the Reformed Churches abroad] do by half an hour" (*E. P. V.* xxxii. 4). Hooker's remedy is to shorten the sermon.

a kind of treatable dissolution, than to be suddenly cut off in a moment ; rather to be taken than snatched away from the face of the earth."

(5) The frequent ejaculatory prayers of our English Service Book were derided by the Puritans as "short cuts and shreddings, which may be better called wishes than prayers." Hooker first points to ancient precedent as exemplified by the practice of "the brethren in Egypt," who, as St Augustine testified, "had many prayers but every of them very short, as if they were darts thrown out with a kind of sudden quickness, lest that vigilant and erect attention of mind should be wasted or dulled through continuance, if their prayers were few and long." He then proceeds: "But that which St Augustine doth allow they [the Puritans] condemn. Those prayers whereunto devout minds have added a piercing kind of brevity, as well in that respect which we have already mentioned, as also thereby the better to express that quick and speedy expedition, wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of prayer, are delighted to present our suits in heaven, even sooner than our tongues can devise to utter them, they, in their mood of contradiction, spare not openly to deride," etc.

These few specimens of Hooker's method

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may be well brought to a close by a noble passage in which he replies to the objection to the Book of Common Prayer, based on the fact that it resembles in so many particulars the Service Books of the Church of Rome.

(6) "To say that in nothing they may be followed which are of the Church of Rome were violent and extreme. Some things they do in that they are men—in that they are wise and Christian men some things; some things in that they are men misled and blinded with error. As far as they follow reason and truth, we fear not to tread the selfsame steps wherein they have gone, and to be their followers. When Rome keepeth that which is ancients and better,—others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer and changing it for worse,—we had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not, than in defects resemble them whom we love."¹

Throughout his whole work the appeal to *reason* is the characteristic note of Hooker. Authority and precedent have their weight; but it is because they carry with them a presumption (till it is disproved) of a basis of reason. But the ultimate arbiter of every question is reason. The late Dean Church

¹ *E. P. V.* xxviii. 1.

has put the position of Hooker admirably when he says, "Hooker argues from authority, where he thinks the argument in place; but his whole theory rests on the principle *that the paramount and supreme guide, both of the world and of human action, is reason.*"¹

No serious attempt was made by opponents to reply to the great artillery of Richard Hooker. But in the course of the seventeenth century a long guerilla war was carried on by book-writers and pamphleteers on both sides. The indiscretions of Montagu, the churchly attitude of Cosin at Durham, and the impatient temper and rigour of Laud in enforcing ritual conformity roused much opposition within the Church itself, and inflamed the passions of the multitude. The issue of the ill-fated *Booke of Common Prayer for the use of the Church of Scotland* (1637), imposed upon the northern Church in a manner contrary to all ecclesiastical precedent, not only brought about the downfall of the episcopate in Scotland, but fanned in the South the flame of antagonism to the Church in England.

In 1637 there appeared the work of George Gillespie,² then a very young man, entitled,

¹ Introduction to Book I. of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, p. xvi.

² He was afterwards a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

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A dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland.

It was probably printed in Holland and imported ; but it was considered by the Scottish Privy Council so mischievous that all copies were ordered to be brought to the Council and publicly burned. The book was directed mainly against the Five Articles of Perth, which had enjoined—(1) Kneeling at the reception of the Holy Communion ; (2) Communion of the sick ; (3) the baptism of infants in private houses in case of necessity ; (4) the Confirmation of the young ; and (5) the observance of Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter, the Ascension, and Pentecost. Gillespie's book attacks the English Prayer-Book in many particulars ; but it adds nothing of importance to the old controversy. Its influence was practically due to its appearance at the particular juncture of affairs when both in England and Scotland the people were keen to scent Popery in every movement of the Church.

In Scotland the year 1638 was marked by the General Assembly's abolishing the Episcopal government of the Church. Less than six years later (1644) the Lords and Commons of England adopted the Solemn League and Covenant, and ordered it to be subscribed by

all men above the age of eighteen. This was followed, in October of the same year, by "the abolishing" of the Prayer-Book, the adoption of the "Directory for Public Worship," and the order for its universal use in lieu of the Book of Common Prayer, on 3rd January 1645. The ejection of the English clergy from their benefices followed on a large scale. Yet from their obscure hiding-places there were some who were fain to strike a blow when they could on behalf of their dearly beloved Prayer-Book. Notable among such efforts are Henry Hammond's book entitled, *A View of the New Directory, and a Vindication of the Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, and Jeremy Taylor's *Apology for authorised and set forms of Liturgy, against the pretence of the Spirit for ex tempore prayer, and forms of private composition*.¹ Both works are interesting from a historical view-point; but the grotesque imposition of the Directory as a substitute for the Prayer-Book is now remembered only as an evil dream when one awakes; and the chief interest of these writings to the liturgical student is the evidence, which they amply supply, that English Churchmen were familiarising themselves with the patristic literature

¹ Both these works were dedicated to King Charles I.

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which bore upon the history of Christian worship, and with the liturgies and other formulas of the Eastern Church.¹ The studies of neither writer are very critical. There is too eager an inclination to jump to conclusions which seem to make in favour of their arguments, and in some cases an over great readiness to identify forms of the English Prayer-Book with the forms of antiquity. Hammond is the more systematic and the more learned of the two. Taylor's powers as a controversialist were not yet fully developed.

Another book issued in the times of the Church's troubles, which went through various editions and deserves some notice, is the little work entitled, *A Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England*,² by Anthony Sparrow, afterwards bishop successively of Exeter (1667) and Norwich (1676). Viewed from the standpoint of our present knowledge of the history of the Prayer-Book, Sparrow's short treatise is very defective. But it was the first attempt at something like a systematic commentary on the

¹ Goar's *Euchologion* was published only in 1647; but Hammond seems to have speedily made himself acquainted with it.

² The first edition appeared, I think, in 1657. See a valuable note on the subject in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, i. p. 346.

Book of Common Prayer, and from its successive editions it is evident that such a book was in demand. "The poor Liturgy," says the author in his Preface, "suffers from two extremes; one sort says it is old superstitious Roman dotage; the other, it is schismatically new. This book endeavours to show particularly what Bishop Jewel says in general; I. that it is agreeable to Primitive Usage, and so, not novel: II. that it is a Reasonable Service, and so not superstitious. As for those that love it, and suffer for the love of it, this will show them reasons why they should suffer on, and love it still more and more."

This little book breathes throughout the spirit of piety; and a genuine and warm affection for the Church's forms of prayer shows itself everywhere. It has the merit of being rarely controversial. And if Sparrow is credulous in his acceptance of old traditions, *e.g.*, as to the origin of the *Te Deum*, the Apostles' Creed, and the Creed of St Athanasius, he shared his credulity with men that were abler and more learned than himself.

It is a curious fact that though at least three editions of Sparrow's book appeared after the last revision of the Prayer-Book, and during the author's lifetime, the text of

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the book was not altered to adapt it to the changes which were made in the Prayer-Book and authorised in 1662. In scores of places the book requires readjustment and alteration; and it is to the unwary reader often misleading.

In the last century interest in Sparrow's *Rationale* was revived by the publication of a new edition (1839), with a Preface by J[ohn] H[enry] N[ewman].¹ Newman has essayed by the help of footnotes to make the book more intelligible to those who had only the Prayer-Book in its present form before them. But it must be acknowledged that the editing has been badly done.²

The next book of importance on the English Prayer-Book was the work of a layman. In 1659 appeared in folio *The Alliance of Divine Offices*, by Hamon L'Estrange, elder brother of Sir Roger L'Estrange, the well-known pamphleteer and controversial writer of the time of Charles II.

¹ A reissue of this book appeared in 1843.

² For example, Sparrow makes a laboured and very unsatisfactory attempt to justify the use of the Christmas Proper Preface in the service for the Holy Communion on the seven days following, while the Preface contained the expression "because thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as *this day* for us." The editor takes no notice of the fact that in 1662 "as at this time" was substituted for "as this day."

The full title of *The Alliance* gives a fairly satisfactory account of its contents, and may for that reason be here transcribed. It ran, "The Alliance of Divine Offices, exhibiting all the Liturgies of the Church of England since the Reformation; as also the late Scotch Service-Book, with all their respective variations; and upon all of them Annotations, vindicating the Book of Common Prayer from the main objections of its adversaries, explicating many parcels thereof hitherto not clearly understood, shewing the conformity it beareth with the primitive practice, and giving a fair prospect into the usages of the ancient Church. To these is added at the end, The Order of the Communion set forth 2 Edw. VI." Although L'Estrange is not always minutely accurate in representing the texts of the various editions, he did signal service to the students of the Prayer-Book. For the first time, those unable to consult the rare originals were able to see for themselves the changes (exhibited generally with substantial correctness) which marked the successive revisions. It was not, in fact, till the publication of Keeling's *Liturgie Britannica* (1842: 2nd Edit. 1851) that the student could afford to dispense with L'Estrange.

But, in addition to the texts, L'Estrange

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added many useful annotations. He surpasses any of the clerical commentators of his time in critical sagacity, and is not inferior to them in learning pertinent to his subject. He does not feel himself bound by the old traditions. He rejects the Ambrosian origin of the *Te Deum*. He very rightly points out that our Church did not commit herself to acceptance of the belief that the Apostles' Creed was composed by the Apostles, but speaks of it "very sparingly in these saving terms, *Symbolum*, quod vulgo Apostolorum dicitur."¹ He follows Voss in rejecting the Athanasian origin of the Athanasian Creed; and generally there is a spirit of freedom in his pursuit of truth which raises him above most of the liturgical writers of England at the time. He is readier than others to acknowledge that there is at times something in the objections of antagonists, and there is manifestly a desire to be fair.²

Between 1672 and 1676 there appeared, in four parts, Thomas Comber's³ *Companion to the Temple, or a help to Devotion in the use*

¹ See XXXIX. Articles, Article VIII.

² Hamon L'Estrange died in 1660. A second edition of *The Alliance* appeared in 1690; a third, with some additions by Henry Gandy, the Nonjuror, in 1699; and a fourth in 1846, in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.

³ Comber was made Dean of Durham in 1691.

of the Common Prayer.¹ The wearisome analysis of the various liturgical formulas, and the paraphrases of their sense by the author, one would fancy, should have been enough to have sunk such an undertaking in obscurity. Yet occasionally Comber's extensive reading in the Fathers and the Councils, exhibited mainly in the Notes, helps to redeem the book from unutterable dulness. It can be considered a great work only by reason of its size. The author is uncritical, indiscriminating, and credulous; yet the material he has collected, if properly sifted, may still be of use to the modern student of the Prayer-Book.²

A work of greater usefulness is Dr William Nicholls' *Commentary on the Book of*

¹ The whole was corrected and appeared in one folio volume in 1684. A fourth edition was reached in 1701 and 1702; and the Clarendon Press reprinted the book in seven volumes, 8vo, in 1841.

² A specimen of Comber's absurd paraphrases may be given here. One might reasonably think that the versicle and response, "The Lord be with you," "And with thy spirit," needed no explanation. But we are furnished with the following "paraphrase":—"Minister. My dear Brethren in the right faith, I do most affectionately salute you; desiring [the Lord] and his grace may [be with you], to prosper you in that you are now doing. Answer. [And] we thankfully return the kindness, desiring likewise the Lord may be [with thy spirit], to make thee attentive and devout while thou speakest to God for us."

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Common Prayer (1710: second edition, 1712, folio). He prefixes a sketch of the movement for liturgical change in the reign of Henry VIII., of the compiling of the First Prayer-Book, and of the history of the various subsequent revisions. He prints in full the names of the members of the Convocations of Canterbury and York who subscribed the Prayer-Book on December 20, 1661. The Acts of Uniformity of Elizabeth and Charles II. are printed and annotated. To these he adds certain proclamations of James I. for the use of the Prayer-Book, the proclamation of Charles I. enjoining the Scotch Prayer-Book of 1637,¹ and the Preface of that book, and the Royal Commission in 1661 for the review of the English Prayer-Book. The text of the Prayer-Book follows—"according to the Sealed Books." In the notes the various readings of the earlier forms of the English Prayer-Book are exhibited, and a commentary, historical and explanatory, appears below the text. At the end of the volume there is printed for the first time the Notes on the Prayer-Book by Bishop Andrewes, the Notes attributed (wrongly) to Bishop Overall, and Bishop Cosin's

¹ The old Scotch word "Lovits" is misunderstood, and printed "Lieutenants."

Notes.¹ He also helped to awaken a new interest in the Prayer-Book by printing the Latin Collects from the Gregorian Sacramentary. The book in its day must have been a most welcome aid to students of the Prayer-Book.

In 1710 appeared Charles Wheatley's *The Church of England Man's Companion; being an illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, which was subsequently enlarged and became the well-known book, again and again reprinted, *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer, being the substance of every thing liturgical in Bishop Sparrow, Mr L'Estrange, Dr Comber, Dr Nicholls, and all former ritualists, commentators, or others, upon the same subject*. For almost a century and a half Wheatley's book held the place of the standard commentary on the Prayer-Book; and even now it may be occasionally consulted with advantage. No subsequent commentary on the whole Prayer-Book, worthy of notice, appeared during the eighteenth century.

It is impossible to pass over in silence Daniel Waterland's *Critical History of the*

¹ These Notes have since been printed in the collected *Works* of Bishop Andrewes and Bishop Cosin in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.

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Athanasian Creed (1724), of which a second and corrected edition appeared in 1728. For sagacity and learning it is an honour to the Church of England; and though much has in our own day been added to our knowledge of the early history of the Creed, Waterland's *Critical History* will always remain a book of real importance. It may be added that Waterland was the first to demonstrate that the English Reformers in 1549 had a Greek copy of the Creed before them when they gave us the translation that stands in our Prayer-Book.

In the year 1733 Dr Thomas Sharp (son of John Sharp, Archbishop of York) delivered, as Archdeacon of Northumberland, a Visitation Charge on certain rubrics in the Offices of Baptism. In the year 1734 certain rubrics of the Communion were dealt with; and in 1735 certain other rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. These, with other discourses, on the Canons, were collected and published in 1753. Sharp shows good sense and competent learning; and the merits of his work are testified to by the republication of the book in 1787, and by, at least, two editions (1834 and 1853) in the last century. Among the questions dealt with the following may serve as specimens. (1) Is the clergy-

man bound to *immerse* a child brought to the church for whom hypothetical baptism is the proper form? (2) What is meant by "notorious evil-livers" in the rubric as to repelling from the Lord's Table?

In the early part of the eighteenth century the English Nonjurors were much exercised in liturgical disputations. The details of these discussions would be out of place here,¹ and they are referred to only because of the wider scope given to liturgical studies by Dr Thomas Brett's publication (1720) of *A Collection of the Principal Liturgies used by the Christian Church in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist*. This book contains translations into English of the liturgical part of the Apostolic Constitutions, and of the Liturgies of St James, St Mark, St Chrysostom, St Basil, and of some other Eastern liturgies, the canon of the Roman Missal, and certain parts of the Mozarabic Missal. To the translations were added the more important part of the office for the Communion in the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI., the Nonjurors' New Communion Office (1718), and a dissertation on the Liturgies. This book was reprinted in 1838.

Both the Scottish and English Nonjurors

¹ Lathbury's *History of the Nonjurors* deals with the subject. See, too, Dowden's *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, pp. 59-73, and Overton's *The Nonjurors*, pp. 290-308.

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were extending their studies to the forms of the Eastern Churches. In 1744 was published a thin quarto volume, entitled *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*. It exhibits in Greek the present Liturgy of St James with, in parallel columns, the pertinent passages from St Cyril's "Mystagogical Catechism," the Clementine Liturgy, and the Liturgies of St Mark, St Chrysostom, and St Basil, together with an attempt to reconstruct the text of the ancient Liturgy of Jerusalem. Though it necessarily falls short of the demands of modern scholarship, it remains a remarkable monument to the learning of the Scotch bishop, Dr Thomas Rattray. It was not without influence on the present Scottish Communion Office.

In the Church of England the interest in liturgical studies slumbered throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century and the first twenty years of the nineteenth. After the publications of Wheatley and Nicholls there was not, I think, a single book of real importance *de rebus liturgicis* published by any divine of the Church of England till Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ* appeared in 1832.¹

¹ Good Bishop Mant's *Book of Common Prayer, with Notes* (1820), was a popular book, and went through several editions; but it added little or nothing to the knowledge of the history or antiquities of the subject.

Cardinal Newman, in his *Apologia pro vita sua*, when recalling to memory his early friends at Oxford—Keble, Perceval, Rose, and “Palmer of Dublin and Worcester College”—says Palmer was “the only really learned man among us.”¹ Certainly on the subject of Liturgies Palmer had in early life begun the serious study of a branch of inquiry which had hitherto received but scant attention in England. It would be foreign to the purpose of the present paper to discuss the merits and defects of his “Dissertation on the Primitive Liturgies,” which occupies some two hundred pages of the *Origines*. But it may be said that the dissertation awakened an interest in the subject which showed itself at a later date in the publications of Neale and Littledale, Hammond and Brightman; and it taught English Churchmen that Western Christendom did not cover the whole field of the ordered devotions of the Christian Church.

When Palmer comes to deal with the English Prayer-Book he has the merit of showing how much Cranmer’s work is indebted to the reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quignon; and he exhibits in parallel columns the Preface of the Prayer-Book and the Pre-

¹ Palmer had graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, before migrating to Oxford

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face of Quignon's book. In his comments on the text of the Prayer-Book he manifests a wide acquaintance, not only with the Fathers, but with the later writers on Western ritual. The Sarum Service Books are now for the first time made full use of. At a time when there were no modern reprints of the Sarum Missal and Breviary, Palmer's exhibition of the text of the Collects, Epistles, Gospels, and other parts of the Sarum rite was truly serviceable. On the question of the authorship of such ancient forms as *Te Deum* and *Quicumque vult* he is more cautious than earlier writers. He assigns both to the Gallican Church, and is inclined to accept Waterland's view that the latter is the work of Hilary of Arles. The most notable defect of the whole book is Palmer's little acquaintance with the influence of the liturgical forms of the German Reformation on the work of our divines. He therefore sometimes fumbles after ancient liturgical precedent, when the real source was close at hand. And he is more concerned with details than with the general structure of our forms. But, with all its defects, the *Origines Liturgicæ* is a work of great merit, and it made a deep impression in its day.¹

It may be observed that Dr Richard

¹ It reached a fourth edition in 1845.

Laurence (afterwards Archbishop of Cashel) had, in the notes to his Bampton Lectures (1804), called attention to the influence of Luther's *Taufbuchlin*, perhaps through the Brandenburg-Nuremberg Order and Hermann's *Deliberatio*, upon the form for Baptism in our Prayer-Book. Laurence had also shown that we owe to a hymn of Luther's composition some of the features in the English form of the sublime burial anthem, "In the midst of life."¹

In 1842 appeared the useful book by Frederic Bulley, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, entitled, *A Tabular View of the Variations in the Communion and Baptismal Offices of the Church of England from the year 1549 to 1662, to which are added those of the Scotch Prayer-Book of 1637; with an Appendix illustrative of the Variations*. The Appendix is very convenient to the student in supplying, among other matters, illustrative material from Hermann's *Deliberatio* and Bucer's *Censura*.

In the same year (1842) appeared that particularly useful book, *Liturgie Brit-*

¹ See Laurence's Bampton Lectures (fourth edition), pp. 378-81. It was left to the present writer to show that it was Coverdale's translation of Luther's hymn that gave us some of the language of our form (*Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, second edition, pp. 162-64).

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annicæ, being an Exhibition of the Texts of all the English Prayer-Books, and of the Scotch Prayer-Book of 1637. It is the work of William Keeling, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. A second and better edition appeared in 1851. The same task has since been performed, but after a different method, by Mr James Parker in his *The First Prayer-Book of Edward VI., compared with the Successive Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer* (1877). Mr Parker's book has appended a serviceable "Concordance to the Rubrics of the Several Editions."

Mr Parker accompanied the volume just named with another, entitled, *An Introduction to the History of the Successive Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer* (1877). The two books are so arranged by a system of numbered paragraphs that cross-references are much facilitated, and a comparison of the various corresponding parts of the different editions of the Prayer-Book is a work of no difficulty. The *Introduction*, besides much useful information on the bibliography of the Prayer-Book, supplies substantially everything that is necessary to the study of the changes made in 1552, 1559, 1604, and 1662. Cosin's notes, the excep-

tions of the Ministers at the Savoy Conference, with the Bishops' Answers, and other illustrative matter, are given a place in this useful book. The hearty thanks of students are due to Mr Parker for his admirable piece of work.

Again, in 1842 there appeared the second edition of Dr Edward Cardwell's *The two Books of Common Prayer set forth by authority of Parliament in the reign of King Edward VI., compared.* The editor's Preface is particularly valuable. He treats, among other things, of the influence of the foreign theologians on the Prayer-Book, and points especially to the occasional Offices as the places where that influence is most apparent. He does not, however, go into detail.

Cardwell's other books, his *History of Conferences and other proceedings connected with the revision of the Book of Common Prayer* (2nd Edit., 1841), his *Documentary Annals* (2nd Edit., 1844), and his *Synodalia* (1842), are, all of them, of much importance to the student of the Prayer-Book and its history; indeed the *History of Conferences* is essential.

Philip Freeman (afterwards Archdeacon of Exeter) published, in 1855, his *Principles of Divine Service. An Inquiry concerning the*

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*True Manner of understanding and using the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer and for the Administration of the Holy Communion in the English Church.*¹ This work is highly speculative, and far from convincing. The doctrinal disquisition on the Eucharist, in vol. ii. part 1, introduces much controversial matter, which at best is only very remotely connected with liturgical forms. From time to time we come across pertinent criticisms, from the literary standpoint, and many beautiful appreciations of the devotional import and spirit of our Prayer-Book. But the book cannot be regarded as having made any very sensible addition to our knowledge.²

In 1855 there appeared the first edition of Mr Francis Procter's *History of the Book of Common Prayer, with a Rationale of its Offices*. A book so well known, and deservedly valued, needs no description. After running through twenty editions it has been revised and in part rewritten by Mr W. H. Frere.

It is natural to say a few words about John Henry Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common*

¹ Second edition, 1863.

² Freeman's hint (vol. i. 309) that Quignon's having prefixed a Confession and Absolution to Matins may have suggested the place given to the Confession and Absolution in the Prayer Book of 1552, is treated of in this volume.

Prayer. It appeared first in 1868, and a revised and enlarged edition was published in 1884. The text of the Prayer-Book, which is printed in full, professes to be (in the last edition) in conformity (except in some particulars as to spelling and punctuation) with the MS. Prayer-Book attached to the Act of Uniformity of 1662. For the text of the Psalms the Great Bible of 1539 has been used. The annotations vary much in merit, and must be read with caution. However, it must be acknowledged that we have here a very serviceable book. Blunt received assistance from several writers of distinction. Dr W. Bright wrote the introduction to and notes on the Litany, and the Dissertation on the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637; Dr Dykes wrote the essay on the Musical Performance of Divine Service; Mr P. G. Medd dealt with the Order for the Holy Communion; Mr T. W. Perry, with the accessories of Divine Service, by which is to be understood the *ornamenta* of the church and ministers; Mr J. T. Fowler, with the Minor Holydays of the Calendar; Mr Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, with the Ordinal; Mr W. D. Macray, of the Bodleian Library, with the State Services and the Irish Prayer-Book.

Mr Thomas Lathbury's important *History*

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of the Book of Common Prayer appeared in 1859. It contains much valuable matter not found in other histories, and deals largely with the question of how the rubrics and canons affecting the use of the Prayer-Book have been understood from the Reformation to the accession of George III.

Many useful elementary handbooks on the Prayer-Book have appeared during the last fifty years. They need not be considered here.

In 1890 Dom Gasquet and Mr Edmund Bishop published *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer: an Examination into its Origin and Early History, with an Appendix of Unpublished Documents*. This, in my opinion, is the most important contribution to the study of the Prayer-Book which has appeared for many years. The new matter is principally Cranmer's projected reform of the Latin Breviary. But throughout the volume there is a valuable collection of material, and much intelligent comment. Again, the authors' acquaintance with *Kirchenordnungen* of the German Reformation throws much light on the construction and early history of the Book of Common Prayer. The book is, of course, written from the standpoint of Roman Catholics; but, on the whole, it seems to me

singularly fair. The "Henry Bradshaw Society" promises at an early date a volume dealing with Cranmer's Breviary scheme ; but such a book cannot detract seriously from the importance of Gasquet and Bishop's work.

Dr Henry Eyster Jacobs, Norton Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, published at Philadelphia, in 1891, *The Lutheran Movement in England during the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and its Literary Monuments*. This work is chiefly occupied with matters non-liturgical ; but the author devotes nine chapters to the illustration of the influence of Lutheran service-books on the Book of Common Prayer. After making allowance for many cases in which the parallelism is imperfect, and the evidence for German influence highly doubtful, it will be admitted by most readers that the author has done useful service in directing attention to a line of investigation which had been overlooked, or somewhat neglected by English students of the early history of the Prayer-Book. If in some instances Dr Jacobs may be considered to have not made good his case, or in others may have regarded as due to Lutheran influence what was an inevitable outcome of the general movement for reformation, some of the

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observations in the pages of the present volume will, I think, make plain that he has overlooked several instances where it can scarcely be doubted that the English Prayer-Book shows signs of having been affected by Lutheran *Kirchenordnungen*. In a word, he both overstates and understates his thesis. He overstates it when he finds and lays stress on features in German liturgical forms which are really commonplaces of the mediæval Church all over Europe. And in some cases he sees resemblances where the differences are far more striking than the likeness.

It remains that something should be said of some of the modern works dealing with particular portions of the Prayer-Book, and of those which illustrate particular phases in its history. W. E. Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica* (2nd Edit. 1876, entirely superseding the 1st Edit.) is a commentary on the service for the Holy Communion. It is a work of great research, and in it is collected a vast amount of valuable information.

On the Rubrics two books deserve notice. J. C. Robertson (afterwards Dr Robertson, Canon of Canterbury, and author of the well-known *History of the Christian Church*) published (2nd Edit. 1844) a valuable commentary

on the Rubrics, under the title, *How shall we conform to the Liturgy?* It abounds in learning and good sense, and seldom fails to throw light on the questions arising out of the interpretation of the Rubrics. Of a more limited scope is Benjamin Harrison's *Historical Inquiry into the True Interpretation of the Rubrics respecting the Sermon and the Communion Service* (1845). It deals with (1) the dress of the preacher; (2) prayer before sermon; (3) the prayer for the Church militant; (4) the offertory. It is full of valuable information. Thomas W. Perry has devoted a whole volume to *Historical Considerations relating to the Declaration on Kneeling appended to the Communion Office of the English Book of Common Prayer* (1863). This work should not be neglected by any student of the sense of the "black rubric."

Dr Samuel Seabury published, at New York, in 1872, *The Theory and Use of the Church Calendar*. It treats of such matters as the Solar and Lunar Cycles, the determination of Easter, Epacts, Old and New Style, etc., but does not touch on the hagiological topics so often discussed in treatises on the Calendar of the Church. The reader may be reminded that "black-letter saints" do not

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appear in the Calendar of the American Prayer-Book.

The Rev. Nathaniel Dimock has written many learned works on questions of controversy within the Church of England. Most of these do not concern us here; but attention may be called to his paper on *The Order of Administration of the Lord's Supper*, which deals very ably with the exegesis of certain expressions in the service which have been variously understood. His paper on the *Catechism* is equally worthy of careful study. Both papers appear in the volume, entitled, *Papers on the Doctrine of the English Church concerning the Eucharistic Presence*.

The Ornaments Rubric has, on account of the development of ritual in many quarters, called for much attention. The subject is ably discussed by Mr James Parker in the *Ornaments Rubric, its History and Meaning* (1881), and by Lord Selborne (Roundell Palmer) in his *Notes on Some Passages in the Liturgical History of the Reformed Church of England* (1878). The latter book, it should be noted, deals also with many other interesting features in the history of the Prayer-Book, such as King James's Prayer-Book, the Lords' Committee of 1640-1, the Revision of 1661, and Parliamentary Proceedings in 1661-2.

As bearing upon the history of the Church's worship among Englishmen in the past, there may be mentioned a reprint (1846) of the rare blackletter book of 1575, entitled, "A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in the Year 1554 about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies."¹

The efforts of Churchmen to comply with the arbitrary orders of Parliament during the Great Rebellion, and yet maintain something of the old forms of liturgical worship, are exemplified in Bishop Jacobson's "Fragmentary Illustrations of the History of the Book of Common Prayer from Manuscript Sources, Bishop Sanderson and Bishop Wren" (1874). Jeremy Taylor's *Collection of Offices* (1658), with a like design, will be found in his *Works* (viii. 571, Eden's Edit.).

The proposals for a revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1689, with all the alterations suggested by the Royal Commissioners, will be found in a convenient form in Taylor's *Revised Liturgy* of 1689, reprinted in 1855.

Peter Hall's *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, 5 vols. (1847), and *Fragmenta Liturgica*, 7 vols. (1848), contain many useful reprints. But,

¹ This book had been reprinted in the *Phoenix*, vol. ii. (1708) ; but the *Phoenix* is itself a scarce book, and the reprint of 1846 was very welcome.

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with the exceptions of the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637 and the American Prayer-Book, the contents are mainly illustrations of the discontent with the English Prayer-Book as exhibited in liturgical efforts on the part of Puritans, or Nonjurors, or erratic individuals.

For the sake of the younger clergy, who may be inclined to give a few shelves of their book-cases to the English Prayer-Book and its literature, I add here some remarks on the best books for ascertaining the correct text of the various revisions of the Prayer-Book. Of the two Prayer-Books of Edward VI. there are various good reprints, but I have found none more serviceable than the *Parker Society's Two Liturgies*, A.D. 1549 and A.D. 1552, *with other Documents*, etc. (1844). Among the "other documents" is the Order of Communion (1548). For Elizabeth's Prayer-Book (1559) the Parker Society's edition (1847) may be relied on. The same volume contains the Latin Prayer-Book of 1560. The *Private Prayers set forth by authority in the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Society, 1851) is rendered of interest by its containing in an appendix the Litany of 1544.

Of King James's Prayer-Book we have no

modern cheap reprint. It appears, indeed, in Pickering's series of handsome folio reprints; but for most practical purposes King James's book is seldom needed.

For the text of the Prayer-Book of 1662 we have now the satisfaction of possessing a photographic facsimile of the MS. which was attached to the Act of Uniformity of that year. It was published in folio in 1891. It is a book to possess. Messrs Eyre & Spottiswoode have carefully printed an edition from this text *verbatim et literatim*, and with all the errors of punctuation; but no reproduction in type can be quite as satisfactory as the facsimile.

For the text of the Sealed Books (which in law are of equal authority with the MS.) we have the edition in 3 vols., edited by Dr Archibald J. Stephens, for the Ecclesiastical History Society (1849-54). The Sealed Book for the Chancery has been taken as the basis, and it has been collated with the Sealed Books for the Queen's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, the Court of Exchequer, St Paul's Cathedral, Christ Church, Oxford, Ely Cathedral, and the Tower of London.

For the study of the last revision, the photographic (folio) *Fac-Simile of the Black-letter Prayer-Book containing the manuscript*

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alterations and additions made in the year 1661 (1871) is simply invaluable. It is unfortunately scarce and rather costly, but it is worth an effort to acquire it.

The study of the mediæval service-books of England is now occupying much attention. It is a wide subject, and cannot be dealt with here, except so far as it relates immediately to the history of the construction of our Prayer-Book in 1549.

The student will find a simple, useful, and interesting introduction to the study in Dr H. B. Swete's *Church Services and Service-Books before the Reformation* (1896). After which may be read the valuable work entitled, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*, by Canon Christopher Wordsworth and Mr Henry Littlehales (1904).

The most important of the service-books of England in use immediately, or shortly, before the appearance of the English Prayer-Book of 1549 have been reprinted, and the following short list may be found of use.

(1) MISSALS.—Sarum, edited by F. H. Dickenson, appeared in four parts, 1861-83. —York, edited by Dr W. G. Henderson, in 2 vols., 1872, for the Surtees Society (vols. 59, 60). Of less importance is the

Hereford Missal, edited by Dr Henderson, 1874. For inquiries relating only to the ordinary and canon of the Mass, the student can consult Maskell's "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England" (3rd Edit. 1882), where these parts in the Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor, and Roman missals are exhibited in parallel columns.

(2) **BREVIARIES.** — Sarum, edited by F. Procter and Christopher Wordsworth, 3 vols., 1879-86. — York, edited by Hon. S. W. Lawley, 2 vols., 1880-83, for the Surtees Society (vols. 71, 75). — Hereford, edited by W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown, 2 vols. (vol. i., 1904; vol. ii. not yet issued), for the Henry Bradshaw Society.

(3) **MANUALS.** — Sarum, edited by Dr Henderson in the Appendix to the York Manual. Most of the offices will be found in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, 3 vols., 2nd Edit. 1882. — York, edited by Dr Henderson, 1875, for the Surtees Society (vol. 63).

(4) **PONTIFICALS.** — Sarum, Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia* exhibits a fifteenth-century Pontifical. — Bishop Lacy of Exeter's (fifteenth-century) Pontifical, edited by Ralph Barnes, 1847.

For most purposes connected with the study

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of the Prayer-Book the above will suffice. For more information about these, and other English Service-Books, see Wordsworth and Littlehales' *Old Service-Books of the English Church*.

For the study of the service-books (*Kirchenordnungen*) of the German Reformation, unless the student has access to some of the great libraries, where the originals, or the more important of them, may be seen, he must resort to Dr Æmilius Ludwig Richter's work, "Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts" (2 vols. 4to, Neue Ausgabe, Leipzig, 1871). Many of the Church Orders are unfortunately not printed in full by Richter, and one has to be content with the editor's description of the parts omitted. One wonders that the interest in the Prayer-Book has not suggested to some scholars to give us at least the liturgical parts of Hermann's *Deliberatio* (1545) and of the German text of its original, *Einfaltigs Bedencken* (1543 and 1544). We also need a full reprint of the liturgical parts of the Brandenburg-Nuremberg *Kirchen Ordnung* (1533). In the following pages I have had the originals before me of the books named above; but for the other German Church Orders I have had to be

content with, or rather, I have had to rely on, without being content, Richter's book.

As regards another influence, and that of a potent kind, on the work of our Reformers, Quignon's Breviary, the student is now so happy as to possess the reprint of the first edition (1535), edited by such a competent scholar as Dr J. Wickham Legg (Cambridge, 1888). And a reprint of the second recension of the Quignon, under the same editor, is promised by the Henry Bradshaw Society.

II

OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE RELATIONS OF GERMAN CHURCH ORDERS, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE SAXON CHURCH ORDER OF 1539, AND OF ARCHBISHOP HERMANN'S LITURGICAL WORK TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S; WITH A NOTICE OF THE PFALZ-NEUBURGER KIRCHENORDNUNG (1543)

THAT Archbishop Cranmer's liturgical reforms were largely influenced by the liturgical reforms of Archbishop Hermann of Cologne is a fact that has long been recognised. It would have been impossible for Cranmer to be an uninterested spectator of the efforts of his brother archbishop on the Rhine. The struggle of Hermann was one of the most remarkable features in the reforming movement in Germany, and it was watched with keen interest on all sides.

The excommunication of Hermann by Pope Paul III. (16th April 1546) was not an event to lessen Cranmer's respect for his character, and two years later, speaking of Hermann, then an old man of seventy-six, Cranmer

styles him "sanctissimus ille senis Elector Coloniensis."¹

As was natural, the designs of Hermann did not meet with general acceptance among the divines of Catholic Germany, nor among the divines of his own diocese. With the criticism of the Archbishop of Cologne's *Deliberatio*, in its German form, put forth by the chapter of his cathedral under the title *Antididagma* (1544), Cranmer was familiar; and in his Notebooks (in the British Museum) we find frequent references to that work.²

The book of Hermann, which afterwards became famous in its Latin form,³ had appeared in the German tongue in 1543.⁴

It was reprinted at the same press (Lauren-

¹ Epistle to Hardenberg, 28th July 1548.

² See the article, "Capitulum Coloniense," in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1891.

³ The full title is so instructive that it is given here at length:—*Nostra Hermannii ex gratia Dei Archiepiscopi Coloniensis et Principis Electoris, etc., Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio, qua ratione Christiana et in verbo Dei fundata Reformatio Doctrinæ, Administrationis divinatorum Sacramentorum, Cæremoniarum, totiusque curæ animarum, et aliorum Ministeriorum ecclesiasticorum, apud eos qui nostræ Pastoralis curæ commendati sunt, tantisper instituenda sit, donec Dominus dederit constitui meliorem, vel per liberam et Christianam Synodum, sive Generalem, sive Nationalem, vel per Ordines Imperii Nationis Germanicæ in Spiritu Sancto congregatos.* Bonnæ: Anno M.D.XXXV.

⁴ Von Gottes genaden, unser Hermans Ertzbischoffs . . . einfaltigs bedencken, etc. Bonn, 1543.

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tius von der Mülen, Bonn) in November 1544, and the title-page represents this edition as "corrected and improved."

It is evident from a comparison of our Prayer-Book with the German of 1543 and 1544, and with the Latin of 1545, that the former (as well as the latter) was in the hands of the English Reformers. Thus, for example, to refer to a point which, so far as I know, has not hitherto been observed, the expression, "Hear what *comfortable* words," etc., seems to have been suggested by "Höret den Evangelischen *trost*," rather than by the simple, "Audite Evangelium" of the Latin.¹ And Dom Gasquet and Mr Bishop have stated in a general way that there are plain indications that in the service for Private Baptism (*Von der not Tauff*) "the German of 1543 differs from the Latin in at least half-a-dozen substantial particulars." And they add, "In each of these cases the [English Prayer] Book of 1549 follows the German, which, there can be no doubt, is its immediate source."² As Æ. L. Richter had previously pointed out, Gasquet calls attention to the fact that Hermann's German order as regards this particular service is substantially the same as the Saxon

¹ In Daye's translation (1547), "Hear ye the Gospel."

² *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 226-27.

Kirchenordnung of 1539, which was, in the main, the work of Justus Jonas.¹

After Luther and Melanchthon, Justus Jonas was one of the most influential of the German Reformers. A Latin Catechism which he had translated from the German and published in 1539 (a catechism prepared for use in the churches of Brandenburg and Nuremberg) was translated into English at the command of Archbishop Cranmer, and, with some alterations, was published, with a dedication to the King prefixed, in 1548. Somewhat later we find Cranmer hospitably entertaining Justus Jonas, junior, son of the well-known Reformer.² It is not improbable, as it seems to me, that the Saxon Church-Order of 1539 was known to Cranmer before the *Einfaltigs Bedencken* of Hermann had reached England. And, it may be added, the Brandenburg Church-Order of 1540 followed the words of the Saxon Church-Order of the previous year in the form for Private Baptism. But whether directly or indirectly, the work of Jonas, senior, has unquestionably left its traces upon the English Prayer-Book.

In the Prayer-Book of 1549, the form

¹ To the prefatory epistle of this Saxon Church-Order the name of Justus Jonas is the first subscribed.

² See Cranmer's Epistle to Melanchthon, 10th Feb. 1549; and Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, ii. 581. .

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corresponding to our present "Ministration of Private Baptism of Children in Houses" was entitled, "Of them that be Baptized in Private Houses in time of necessity." The words "in time of necessity" were possibly suggested by the *Von der Nottauff* of the German.¹ But this point is doubtful, and need not be pressed. The York Manual has the heading *Ritus Baptizandi in Necessitate*.

Dom Gasquet and Mr Bishop did not think it necessary to exhibit in any fulness of detail the proofs of the statement cited above.² But careful students of the English Prayer-Book will not be displeased to have here a few illustrations of the truth of their observation.

1. (a) "And let them not doubt but that the child so baptized is *lawfully and sufficiently* baptized. *P. B.* of 1549.

(b) " . . . and that they should not doubt that the child is *rightly and sufficiently baptized*" (*recht und gnugsam getaufft*), etc. *Saxon Church Order*, 1539; and Hermann's *Bedencken* (fol. lxxxvii.).

(c) "Ne dubitent infantem suum vere baptizatum, peccatis ablutum, in Christo rena-

¹ The title in Hermann's Latin *Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio* is "De Baptismo recens natis collato propter periculum vitæ."

² They give two examples, which are included in my list below

tum et filium hæredemque Dei factum esse." Hermann's *Deliberatio*, 1545.

The diffuseness of the Latin in this place has many parallels in that part of the book now under consideration. The German is obviously much closer to the English than is the Latin. The Latin is often vague and verbose where the German is brief and pertinent.

2. (a) "Then shall not he christen the child again, but . . . *shall receive him as one of the flock of the true Christian people.*" *P. B.*, 1549.

(b) " . . . vnd es alda in die Gemeine vnd zal der rechtschaffen Christen annemen." *Saxon Order*, 1539; Hermann's *Bedencken* (fol. lxxxvii., omitting the word "alda").

(c) In Hermann's *Latin* there is nothing exactly corresponding. This example is given by Gasquet, who also notices the following :—

3. (a) "I certify that in this case ye have done well . . . for our Lord Jesus Christ doth not deny his grace and mercy unto such infants, but most lovingly doth call them unto him, as the holy Gospel doth witness to our comfort on this wise." *P. B.*, 1549.

(b) "I pronounce that ye have done rightly and well, since poor infants stand in need of grace, and our Lord Jesus Christ denies not

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the same to them, but all lovingly (*allerfreundlichsten*) calls them thereto, as the following text of the holy Gospel comfortably (*tröstlich*) witnesses." *Saxon Order*, 1539; Hermann's *Bedencken* (fol. lxxxvii. *verso*, almost the same as the *Saxon Order*).¹

(c) Hermann's Latin is diffuse. It contains in the main the thought of the German original, but adds much.²

There can be no question, on comparison, that it is the German (whether of the *Saxon Order* or of Hermann), not the Latin of Hermann, which has here suggested the language of the *Prayer-Book* of 1549.

4. The chief reason assigned in the Latin of Hermann (1545) for the bringing of the child baptised at home in case of necessity to the church is that the parents, relations, and sponsors "ought to give thanks for this infinite benefit of regeneration conferred upon their infant, and to offer him in the church to his God and Saviour" (fol. lxxvi. *verso*). In the *Prayer-Book* of 1549 nothing is said of the reason assigned above. "It is expedient

¹ The English is more near to the *Saxon Order* than it is to the *Bedencken*.

² It would unnecessarily occupy much space to transcribe it. Those who have not access to such a rare book as Hermann's *Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio*, will find the passage printed in the Appendix to Bulley's *Variations*, etc., p. 271.

that he [the child] be brought into the church to the intent that the Priest may examine and try whether the child be lawfully baptised or no." And the same object only is made the reason for bringing the child to the church in the Saxon Order of 1539, and in Hermann's *Bedencken*.

5. In the Prayer-Book of 1549, among the interrogations is, "Whether they called upon God for grace and succour *in that necessity?*" This idea seems suggested by the language of the Saxon Order, where those present at the baptism state "das sie Gott über dem Kind *in der not* angeruffen." In neither the German nor the Latin of Hermann do we find anything exactly equivalent.¹

6. In the Saxon Order and in the Prayer-Book of 1549 the questions to be put by the priest are each severally and expressly set forth. In the Latin of Hermann the questions are given in a more condensed form. Thus, where the Latin asks, "How was the child baptised?" (*Quomodo baptizatus infans sit?*), the Saxon Order and the English Prayer-Book concur in asking two questions—first, as to the *matter*, and, secondly, as to

¹ "An invocatum sit nomen Domini super eo et habita oratio pro eo?" The German of Hermann runs, "Ob die das kind sollen geteuft habenden namen des Herren recht angeruffen und gebetten" (fol. lxxxvii. *verso*).

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the *form* (the words) of the sacrament as used in the administration of the private baptism.

7. "But if they which bring the infants to the church do make an uncertain answer to the priest's questions, and say that they cannot tell what they thought, did, or *said*, in that great fear and trouble of mind (*as oftentimes it chanceth*) . . ." (Prayer-Book, 1549). The Saxon Order and Hermann's *Bedencken* has "thought," "did," and "*said*." Hermann's Latin is content with "thought" and "did." Again, the Saxon Order places in parenthesis-marks like the English "(als denn offtmals zu geschehen pflegt)." Note the "oftentimes" and "offtmals"; the former seems suggested by the latter, rather than by the "non raro" of the Latin of Hermann. Hermann's *Bedencken* read in the parenthesis "(als dann zu zeiten zu geschehen pflegt)." Here again the Saxon Order is nearer to the English than is Hermann's German. Again, "des Pfarhers frage" corresponds to "the Priest's questions"; while the Latin is simply "dictas interrogationes." In other particulars the closer resemblance of the English to the German is apparent; but what has been exhibited will probably suffice to carry conviction that the German original was certainly in the hands of our Reformers, and that it was probably the Saxon Order rather

than Hermann's German which they had before them.

When uncertain answers were given to the inquiries, the direction appears both in the Saxon Order and in both the German and the Latin of Hermann that the Pastor should regard the child as unbaptised, and should baptise the child without condition. Here Cranmer departed from the guidance of the foreign Reformers, and, more wisely, followed the ancient Manuals of England. Indeed nothing is more observable in all Cranmer's work than the spirit of critical independence with which he treated the documents which he employed to help him. He was no blind follower of any master.¹

Students have so often contented themselves with inspecting the parallel passages from Hermann's book, as exhibited by many modern commentators on the Prayer-Book, that they have failed very commonly to appreciate the extent of the wide divergences between Cranmer's work and the German books which influenced him to some extent, and left their well-marked traces here and there on our English liturgical forms. Cran-

¹ The Churches in different parts of Germany after the Lutheran reformation varied in respect to the use of baptism *sub conditione*. Some continued the old usage; others, in cases of doubt, baptised without condition.

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mer adopted from them several features which he regarded as valuable: he rejected, however, much more than he accepted. This fact can be adequately estimated only by those who are familiar with the German sources of which he made use.

Some of our English students who seem to regret the influence of the Cologne books on Cranmer's liturgical work, were they acquainted with the contents of Hermann's *Deliberatio*, might be disposed to regret that in some respects its influence was not greater. If that had been so, we might now possess some of the pre-Reformation features which Hermann and his advisers did not think inconsistent with a reformed service-book. Thus, while the Prayer-Book of 1549 directs that the Gospel (in the Communion Service) shall be read "*immediately* after the Epistle ended," Hermann's book (and indeed generally the *Kirchenordnungen* throughout all Germany) prescribes that "where there are clerks" "the alleluia, or gradual, or sequence," shall be sung. Hermann indeed enjoins that these should be sung in Latin, to be followed apparently by a Hymn in the vulgar tongue; for the mingling of Latin and the vernacular is a very frequent feature in the German service-books. But the point to which I refer is the

total abolition by Cranmer of the ancient choral response after the Epistle.¹ This is the more remarkable, as the Prayer-Book of 1549 contemplates the presence of clerks throughout the service of the Holy Communion. The "Clerks" were to sing the introit, and the priest was to say, "or else the Clerks shall sing" the triple Kyrie. After the priest had "begun" the "Glory be to God on high," the "Clerks" were to sing the rest. The "Clerks" and people were to make the response after the announcement of the liturgical Gospel. The Nicene Creed was to be sung by the "Clerks" after the priest had precented the first five words. The "Clerks" were to "sing the offertory." The "Clerks" were to sing the *Sanctus* after the Preface. The "Clerks" were to sing the *Agnus* "in the Communion time." Finally, the "Clerks" were to sing the post-Communion.

The snippets from Archbishop Hermann's *Deliberatio* exhibited in commentaries on the Prayer-Book do not help one to picture the structure and order of the service as it appears

¹ Luther, in the *Formula Missæ* (1523), objects only to over-long graduals. He would sanction graduals of two verses with an alleluia, and adds, "In ecclesia nolumus tedio extinguere spiritum fidelium." In his *Deutsche Messe* (1526) he would have the choir sing a German hymn between the Epistle and Gospel.

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in that work. It is only by an examination of the whole of Hermann's service of the Holy Communion that the student can duly estimate what Cranmer took from it and what he declined to take. In what follows an attempt is made to describe the service as it appears in Hermann's *Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio*. But it is necessary to make some preliminary observations.

1. The name given to the sacrament and the service at which it was administered is *Cæna Domini*. It is not improbable that the first five words of the heading in the Prayer-Book of 1549, viz., "The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass," were suggested by German Church Orders.

Though the expression, "The Supper of the Lord," as signifying the Eucharist, had gone out of general use in the Western Church for centuries before the Reformation, it yet has ample patristic authority, such, for example, as that of St Augustine, St Basil, and Theodoret,¹ even if doubts exist as to the proper application of St Paul's language (1 Cor. xi. 20).

¹ See the passages cited by Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica* (2nd Edit.), pp. 4, 5; and still more fully in the article *Lord's Supper*, by the same author, in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

In the early days of the Reformation in Germany the word "Mass" was frequently retained. We have the *Formula Missæ et Communionis* put forth by Luther for the church of Wittemberg in 1523, and we have his *Deutsche Messe* in 1526.¹ But in the form for Nordlingen (1525) we find "Eucharistia sive Cæna Dominica," and in the form for Halle (1526), *Die Mess, oder das Nachtmal Cristi*. And so, for some years, the two terms are used indifferently. In the Prussian Order of 1544 we find the title the form of "the Mass or Supper of our Lord Christ." Gradually *Nachtmahl*, or more commonly *Abendmahl*, came to be preferred in most places. In the Brandenburg - Nuremberg Church Order (1533), which we know influenced some of Cranmer's work, the title of the service for the Holy Communion was "Ordnung des Herren Abentmals"; and it was "The Lord's Supper" that came to be the name which ere long generally prevailed in the German and Swiss Churches. In the German edition of Hermann's book (1543) the name, *Das heilige Abendmal Christi unsers Herren*, appears. But in Germany we do not find the marked repugnance to

¹ In Luther's Catechism the "Sacrament of the Altar" is the term used.

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the use of the word "Mass" which quickly developed itself in England.

2. Hermann's *Deliberatio* prescribes that the ministers should beware of casting pearls before swine, and directs that none should be admitted to the Lord's Supper who had not presented themselves beforehand to the pastor, and, having made confession of sins, received absolution. On the day before that on which the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated there was to be a service by way of preparation at which those about to communicate were to attend. The preliminary rubrics of the English service of 1549 were plainly intended to be a defence against the profanation of unworthy communicating; but it will be noted that preliminary confession with absolution are not prescribed.

We may now proceed to describe the service for the Lord's Supper as exhibited in Hermann's book.

1. When the minister comes to "the altar" he says a Confession, "in the name of the whole Church," in the German tongue, that all may understand. In the German form (1543 and 1544) of Hermann's book this Confession is preceded by Ps. xxxii. 6 and the first half of verse 7—a very beautiful and appropriate introduction. And this finds its parallel in

the verse (one of the comfortable words) preceding the Absolution.

It is a not uncommon feature in the German Service Books to have a pertinent verse of Scripture placed immediately before a collect or other prayer. The "comfortable words" of our Communion Service, though plainly suggested by Hermann's book, are placed in a different position, and, as I think, unfortunately *after* the Absolution. In Hermann (in the German edition), just as the warrant for our confession of sin is suggested by the preceding words of Scripture, "I said, I will confess my sins unto the Lord: and so thou forgavest the wickedness of my sin: for this shall every one that is godly make his prayer unto thee, in a time when thou mayest be found," so the warrant for the declaration of forgiveness in the Absolution is supplied by one (for only *one* was to be said) of the passages, "God so loved the world," etc., "This is a faithful saying," etc.; and three other verses of similar import.¹

It will be seen then that in Hermann the Confession, preceded by a verse, and the Absolution, preceded by a verse, were placed

¹ The passages are John iii. 16; 1 Tim. i. 15; John iii. 35; Acts x. 43; 1 John ii. 1. Of these the first, second, and last appear among our English "comfortable words."

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as an introduction to, or preparation for, the service, which began with the Introit.

This Confession and Absolution at the Altar, preparatory to Mass, has numerous parallels, more or less close, in the services of the unreformed Church.¹

It should be remembered that in the Prayer-Book of 1549 the Priest, "standing humbly afore the midst of the altar," was directed to say the Lord's Prayer and the collect, "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts," *before* he said the Psalm appointed for the Introit. If I understand the rubrics rightly, the Priest *said* the Lord's Prayer, the collect, and the Introit while the clerks were *singing* the Introit. It was not till 1552 that the Lord's Prayer and the collect referred to became part of the people's devotions.

ii. An Introit, sung in Latin, where there were clerks.

iii. The *Kyrie*, sung by the people, in German.

iv. *Gloria in excelsis*, in German, sung by the people.

v. "The Lord be with you"; "And with thy Spirit." "Let us pray." Collect in German.

¹ One of the closest will be found in a Missal of the Church of Tours (1533). See Martène, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*, Lib. i. cap. iv. art. 2.

vi. The Epistle to be read (turning to the people) in German.

vii. The Alleluia, or Gradual, or Sequence, to be sung in Latin by the clerks.

viii. A Hymn in German.

ix. The Gospel, in German, to be read to the people.

x. Sermon (interpretation of the Gospel).

xi. Prayer for all estates of men and the needs of the Church. Two forms, a longer and a shorter, are supplied, bearing some general resemblance to our prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church." The shorter form is longer than our English prayer.

xii. The Nicene Creed, sung "by the whole church."

xiii. While the Creed is being sung the faithful (each as God has blessed him) will offer openly before all their free-will "oblations" at a place near the altar, which at the end of the service will be placed in the money-chest by those who have charge of it (*præfecti sacri gazophilacii*).

xiv. (a) Departure of those not qualified to communicate.

(b) The intending communicants approach the altar, and wait—the men on one side, the women on the other.

xv. "The Lord be with you"; "And with,"

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etc. "Lift up your hearts"; "We lift," etc. "Let us give thanks unto the Lord, our God." "It is meet and right." "It is very meet" (a long and, apparently, unvarying Preface).

xvi. The *Sanctus*, sung in Latin by the clerks and alternately in German by the people;¹ and "Lord God of Sabaoth" and "Blessed is he that cometh," to be sung by all in German.

xvii. Immediately after, the Priest is to sing "the words of the Lord's Supper"² in German, devoutly and clearly, so that they may be understood by all.

The people are to say *Amen*.

xviii. The priest says, "Let us pray," and the "Our Father." The people are again to say *Amen*.

xix. *Priest*, "The Lord be with you": the People, "And with thy spirit."

xx. Those who have been admitted to Communion are devoutly, and in order, to approach "the Table of the Lord": first, the men; then, the women; and they are communicated in both kinds.

¹ Thus, "*Sanctus, Heilig; Sanctus, Heilig; Sanctus, Heilig.*"

² *I.e.* the account of the institution. In the German Church Orders generally the words ran, "Our Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed . . . as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me."

xxi. The words of Delivery are,

"Take and eat to thy salvation (*ad salutem tuam*) the body of the Lord which was given (*traditum*) for thee."

"Take and drink to thy salvation the blood of the Lord, which was shed for thee."

xxii. While the people are communicating the *Agnus Dei* is sung¹ alternately in Latin (where there are clerks) and German; and if time allows the German hymns, *Gott sey gelobt*, and *Jesus Christus unser Heylandt*.

xxiii. The Communion ended, the priest turns to the people and says, "The Lord be with you"; response, "And with thy spirit." The priest, "Let us pray."

These features appear in the Prayer-Book of 1549.

xxiv. One of two alternative forms of thanksgiving, neither of which show any very close resemblance to the English form of 1549.

xxv. "The Pastor shall bless the people in these words," four different forms of blessing being supplied. The last of these may possibly have suggested the latter half of the blessing in the Prayer-Book of 1549: it runs, "The blessing of God, the Father, the Son,

¹ Compare the Prayer-Book of 1549. "In the Communion time the Clerks shall sing, O Lamb of God," etc.

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and the Holy Ghost, be with you, and remain with us always (*allezeit*). Amen."¹

This is followed by the direction that where there are no clerks, as in village churches, all should be read or sung in German. Exposition of the Sacrament, or carrying of it about, is strictly forbidden. The number of those who were about to communicate, whether in church or in private houses for the sick, should beforehand be carefully ascertained. If any of the consecrated elements remained over at the close of the service, it was to be immediately consumed. Reservation for any purpose was strictly forbidden.

The influence of the German books may be further illustrated.

I think that there can be little doubt that the requirement of our Prayer-Book that in the case of the Communion of the Sick there should be some to communicate with the sick person was derived from Hermann or from some other of the German Orders, in which this requirement was a frequent, if not universal, feature. The rubrics of the Prayer-Book of 1549 assume that there might be some to communicate with the sick person ; the rubrics

¹ I have here translated from the German ; the Latin (1545) runs thus, "Benedictio Dei Patris . . . sit nobiscum, et maneat in æternum. Amen."

of 1552 require "a good number"; and at the last revision (1661) "three or two at the least" were prescribed as necessary.

The Prayer-Book of 1552 with its "good number" is quite in the spirit of Hermann, who directs that pastors should exhort the people that not only those of the household, but also the relations and neighbours of the sick, should come to communicate with him (fol. xcvi. *verso*).

And in another particular the Prayer-Book of 1552 agrees with Hermann; the reservation which, in a restricted form, was allowed in the Prayer-Book of 1549 now disappears altogether, and a celebration is ordered in the sick person's home. These are features of connection with Hermann and the German books which should have a place in future commentaries on our English Prayer-Book.

None of our English books permit celebrations in private houses for those in good health, which, when there is good cause, is allowed by Hermann for people of rank and others living at a great distance from the church. The permission is plainly given with reluctance (fol. xcix.).

A comparison of this order of service with that exhibited in the Prayer-Book of 1549 shows at once the independent spirit with

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which Cranmer dealt with the material before him. Notably, the Prayer of Consecration in the English book forms a very striking contrast to the bald recitation of the narrative of the Institution in the Order of the Archbishop of Cologne, and indeed in almost all the Church Orders of Germany, albeit the narrative was followed by the *Amen* of the people, and by the Lord's Prayer.¹ Again, although this feature disappeared in the second Prayer-Book, reservation for the sick, rigidly forbidden by Hermann, is to a limited extent allowed in the Prayer-Book of 1549. Again, Cranmer seems to me to have greatly improved on Hermann in ordering that those who desired to offer to "the poor men's box" should do so, not while the Nicene Creed was being sung, but while the clerks are singing the sentences "for the Offertory." The act of making the solemn profession of the Church's faith should certainly not be interrupted by the moving to and fro of the offerers in their approach to and recession from the place where the offerings were made.

Most remarkable, no doubt, of all the features of the Communion Service of the Prayer-Book of 1549 is the Prayer of Invoca-

¹ In the Church Order for Hanover (1536) attention is called to the statement of St Gregory the Great that "it was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the Host of Oblation by that prayer [the Lord's Prayer] only."—*Epist.* lib. vii. No. 64.

tion in the consecration of the Eucharist. There is not, so far as I know, anything exactly like it in any of the German *Kirchenordnungen*. That the Greek Liturgies had their influence with Cranmer there can be no question. And the attention of Cranmer to the absence of an *express* prayer for the consecration of the elements in the books of Hermann had been called by the *Antididagma* of the Canons of the Chapter of Cologne. Possibly his attention had also been called to the Pfalz-Neuburger Kirchenordnung, which was largely the work of Osiander,¹ and was published in 1543. This book contained a very remarkable prayer of consecration, to which, although attention has been called to it by Dom Gasquet and Mr Bishop, I think, at least in this country, due consideration has not been given. It runs as follows:—

“O Lord Jesu Christ, the only very Son of the living God, who hast given thy body for us all in the bitter pains of death, and hast shed thy blood for the forgiveness of our sins, and who, moreover, hast commanded all thy disciples to eat and to drink the same, thy body and thy blood, and thereby to commemorate thy death, we bring before thy Divine Majesty these thy gifts of bread and

¹ See *Richter*, ii. 26.

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wine; and we pray thee by thy divine grace, goodness, and might (*Krafft*), to hallow, bless, and make (*schaffen*) that this bread may be thy body and this wine thy blood, and that all who eat and drink thereof may attain to everlasting life: who with the Father in the unity of the Holy Ghost livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen." Immediately after this prayer the priest is to commence the *verba consecrationis*, "Our Lord Jesus Christ in the night . . . in remembrance of me." Where there was a choir, the Latin *Sanctus* was then to be sung, and the priest was to offer certain prayers, in their general purpose not unlike the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church," ending with "Let us pray," followed by the Lord's Prayer. The choir or the priest was then to sing the *Agnus Dei*. The communicating of the people was to follow, the priest delivering the Body with the words, "Take and eat, this is the Body of Christ which was given for thee"; the deacon followed with the cup, saying, "Take and drink, this is the blood of the New Testament which was shed for thy sins."¹

The main interest of this form lies in what may be called the Invocation, which, although the Holy Spirit is not expressly named, bears

¹ *Richter*, ii. 28.

a considerable resemblance to the forms of the Eastern Churches, and is certainly a striking departure from the prevailing form of the Reformed Churches of Germany. The reader will observe also that in this form the prayer for the hallowing and blessing of the elements *precedes* the words of Institution (as in the Prayer-Book of 1549), while in the Greek Liturgies it follows them. The prayer being addressed to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, though unusual, is not without precedent, though there is no reason to suppose that Osiander was acquainted with that fact.¹

Mr F. E. Brightman, writing to the *Guardian* newspaper in May 1901, on the relations of the form in the Prayer-Book of 1549 to the Pfalz-Neuburg Order (1543) and the Greek Liturgy of St Basil, observes: "While it is obvious that both passages [the English and the German] depend upon the Greek, it seems to me likely that the English is not derived merely through the German, while no doubt influenced by it, but is also related directly to the Greek." I am not myself quite confident

¹ See the Coptic Liturgy of St Gregory (*Renaudot*, i. 31), and the Ethiopic Liturgy (*ib.*, i. 477), and the Alexandrine (Greek) Liturgy of St Gregory (*ib.*, i. 98). In the latter the Lord is asked to change the elements, $\tau\eta\ \sigma\eta\ \phi\omega\rho\eta$, and to send the Spirit that He may change them. It reminds one of the language of the Prayer-Book of 1549.

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that the German Order of the Palatinate can be shown to have influenced the Prayer-Book ; but it may have encouraged Cranmer to look to the Greek Liturgies for guidance.

That Cranmer was likely to have seen the Pfalz-Neuburg Order seems probable, if for no other reason, from the relationship of the archbishop to Osiander, who is said to have had a large hand in the compiling of that Church Order. Cranmer had in 1531 married in Germany the niece of the German Reformer. In 1537 Cranmer mentions that he had received a letter from Osiander ; and we possess a long Latin letter of the archbishop's to Osiander, dated December 27, 1540, in which his correspondent is addressed as "Osiander dilectissime," "carissime Osiander." The archbishop mentions that three days before he had written to him another and shorter letter, and refers to having received various private letters from him, and to having read various public letters of his. He writes to Osiander with great freedom, "propter eam quæ inter nos est, et jam diu fuit, *summa necessitudo et familiaritas*," and adds that with the other German doctors his friendship is of a lighter kind and less close.¹

¹ Letter cclxxii. in the Parker Society's edition of Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*.

It is to be observed, however, that in several very important particulars Cranmer's work is not in accord with the Palatinate Order. Notably, while in the latter the priest is directed immediately after reciting "the words of consecration" to "elevate" the host and the chalice and "show them to the people," the Prayer-Book of 1549 is very express in ordering that the words should be rehearsed "without any elevation, or shewing the Sacrament to the people."

The German forms for the celebration of the Lord's Supper vary as regards the elevation. In Luther's *Formula Missæ* it is enjoined; but Luther adds that this is *propter infirmos*, who might be offended by the omission of this striking rite. Again, in his *Deutsche Messe* of 1529, he says, "We will not do away with the elevation." But in many of the later Church Orders the elevation is not directed nor noticed. Thus in the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order (1533) there is no direction for the elevation; and the same is true of the Wirtemberg Order (1536) and the Saxon Order (1539). On the other hand, the Brandenburg Order (1540) orders the elevation; and, as we have seen, the Order for the Palatinate (1543) coincides in this particular.

III

THE ABSENCE OF METRICAL HYMNS FROM THE ENGLISH BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

ONE of the most striking contrasts exhibited by a comparison of the pre-Reformation Breviaries of England and the Matins and Evensong of the Prayer-Book, is the absence from the latter of metrical hymns. The metrical hymns of the Sarum Breviary number over one hundred and thirty. Cranmer did not object to metrical hymns in themselves. In his attempts to construct a revised Latin Breviary many hymns appear, some from the Sarum book and some from other sources; and it is evident that considerable care was exercised by him as regards not only the text, but also the selection of verses, and the choice of the particular service at which each hymn should be said or sung.¹

The absence of metrical English hymns from the Book of Common Prayer is the more remarkable, because in the Lutheran

¹ See Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, Appendix II.

Church Orders, which were so highly influential in affecting our English Prayer-Book, German hymns form a marked feature.

To Luther himself Germans look back with gratitude, as having given them not only the German Bible, but also the German hymn-book. He was himself a lover of music and a lover of poetry ; and his own hymns, some of them translations or adaptations of old Latin hymns and of antiphons or canticles from the old Latin service-books, or of portions of Holy Scripture, at once became popular. Service-books of the Reformation in every part of Germany adopted hymns of Luther. And the force and simplicity of his language has secured the immortality of much of his work.

Almost immediately Luther's early efforts bore fruit in the metrical compositions of many other writers of varying merit ; and before long there was created a substantial body of German hymnody, much of which is of a high order of excellence.

The contrast of England with Germany is very marked. Neither Cranmer nor any of his fellow-labourers seem to have been endowed with the gift of song. The only specimen of their skill is the rendering of the *Veni Creator Spiritus* in the "Form of

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Ordering Priests" (1549-50), which, though not without its merits, can hardly induce us to regret that versions of the Breviary Hymns of like quality did not form part of the First Prayer-Book. This hymn, as is well known, was, at the revision of 1661, "corrected and smoothed."¹ This older version (even in the form which the revisers of 1661 regarded as "smoothed") has in practice been completely ousted by "Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," inserted in the Ordination Service in 1661 as an alternative.

A satisfactory mastery of accent and metre had not been attained in England in the days of Cranmer. While we have much that is altogether excellent in the prose of the period—and the language of the Prayer-Book, with its stately and rhythmical movement, is itself a standing memorial of the fact—English verse at this time was still, even in skilled hands, somewhat incoherent and unformed. The mechanism of verse was being improved by Wyatt and by Surrey; but even such accomplished artists have left us many a line that is faulty. It was well that the Church had not imposed upon her devotions any considerable body of ill-shaped verses, which, though they

¹ See the *Fac-simile of the Black Letter Prayer-Book, with manuscript alterations and additions made in 1661.*

might have been borne with at the time, would inevitably have proved a burden in a generation or two.

As a translation, the hymn in the Ordinal of 1549-50 must be regarded as diffuse, and "farced" with many elements not to be found in the original. After making all allowance for the superiority of the Latin in the condensing of thought and the compactness of expression, it is certain that when seven verses of the original, of four short lines each, are expanded into eight verses, each of eight lines,¹ there must be a good deal of "padding." It will suffice, perhaps, by way of illustrating what has been said, to compare the first verse of the Latin with the English equivalent:—

"Veni, Creator Spiritus,
mentes tuorum visita :
imple superna gratia
quæ tu creasti pectora."

"Come, Holy Ghost, eternal God,
proceeding from above,
Both from the Father and the Son,
the God of peace and love :

Visit our minds, and into us
thy heavenly grace inspire,
That in all truth and godliness
we may have true desire."

¹ Or, as the words were arranged in 1552 and onwards, in four long lines of fourteen syllables each.

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That a metrical translation (and more particularly a rhymed translation) must often indeed be only a paraphrase, not very close to the original, seems inevitable, or all but inevitable. Yet it is evident that in this case we suffer to an undue extent from the importation of new thoughts.

If the English hymn were in itself of a high degree of excellence, we might more readily condone the looseness of the rendering and the dragging in of thoughts unknown to the original. But, though there are some fine lines, on the whole the composition is weak.

In metrical construction the English hymn, though it may have fairly well passed muster in its day, is not satisfactory. We should find it difficult in our time to be content with the following lines, which form one of the best specimens of the verses :—

“The fountain and the lively spring
of joy celestial,
The fire so bright, the love so clear,
and unction spiritual.”

In sacred poetry, no less than in secular, we have unhappily only too many illustrations of the truth of the lines in *Hudibras* :—

“Rhyme the rudder is of verses,
With which, like ships, they steer their courses.”

An example lies before us in the fifth verse of the translation, in which the two lines—

“Hostem repellas longius,
pacemque dones protinus,”

are expanded into,

“Put back our enemy far from us,
and grant us to obtain
Peace in our hearts with God and man,
without grudge or disdain.”

We shall probably never know who was the person who in 1661 “corrected and smoothed” the old version, and gave it to us in the form we now possess in our Prayer-Book. The changes made were partly to free the verses from words which in the course of a century had shifted their sense or their emotional colour, partly to bring the accental stress necessary to the metre into closer conformity with the mode of reading English in the second half of the seventeenth century, and partly for other reasons. Examples of the first of these objects are to be found when “the *lively* spring of joy celestial” becomes the “*living* spring,” and when “O Holy Ghost into our *wits* send down thy heavenly light” is changed into “into our *minds*.”

The second object (together with a desire

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to get rid of the verb "to strength") was evidently aimed at in the change of—

"Strength and stablish all our weakness,
so feeble and so frail,
That neither flesh, the world, nor devil,
against us do prevail."

into

"Our weakness strengthen and confirm
(For, Lord, thou know'st us frail ;)
That neither devil, world, nor flesh,
Against us may prevail."

But no emendations could rectify in a satisfactory manner verses which were so radically faulty in their inception. And if this was the best that Cranmer and his associates could give us, it is not a matter for regret that no attempt was made to supply the English Church with renderings of the hymns of the old English Breviaries.

At the present time we possess a vast quantity of English verse, in the form of hymns, varying in merit from the noblest strains of devotion to contemptible doggerel. It ought not now to be beyond the power of the English Church to select from this large body of material, and to put forth an authorised hymnary, loyal in spirit to the teaching of the Church, touched by the living fire of genuine emotion, and also meritorious from the view-point of literary art.

IV

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MATINS AND EVEN- SONG FROM THE OLD BREVIARY SERVICES; PARTIAL ANTICIPATIONS OF CRANMER'S WORK IN GERMANY

ONE is constantly forced to admire the ingenuity and liturgical skill with which our English Morning and Evening Prayer have been constructed. And our admiration is not lessened when we compare the forms in our Prayer-Book with the various attempts of a similar kind which had been previously printed in numerous Church Orders in different parts of Germany. It is only right, however, to acknowledge that others had been before us in this work, though the results in their case do not seem to us as satisfactory as what we ourselves possess.

Of the various forms for Daily Prayer in the German books which I have examined, that which seems to me to have anticipated Cranmer's work most closely is to be found in the Church Order for Calenberg and Göttingen, published in 1542.¹ Of course, in

Richter, *Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, i. 363.

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comparing it with our form, it is the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. that must be considered.

The customary morning service on Sundays and Holydays in the German Order began with (1) "O God, make speed," etc., and proceeded with (2) an Invitatory and *Venite*; (3) three Psalms, with one antiphon or with three; (4) a Lesson from the Old *or* New Testament; (5) *Te Deum*, sung in alternate verses between the choir and the congregation; (6) Lesson from the New Testament (with the Summary,¹ that is, a well-known commentary); (7) Benedictus, with an antiphon; (8) Collects; (9) *Benedicamus*; (10) *Da pacem*.

The general resemblance of this order to the English Matins of 1549 is very observable. The Invitatory and the Antiphons, of course, disappear, according to the principle laid down by the English Reformers. The absence of the Apostles' Creed is the most noticeable difference up to the end of the Collects, with which, it will be remembered, the Matins of 1549 ended. It is worth observing that in Cranmer's second and revised draft for a revised Breviary the Apostles' Creed had not appeared; but on Sundays the *Quicumque*

¹ The brief annotations, known as the Summary, were by Dietrich, the popular preacher at the church of S. Sebaldus, Nuremberg.

vult was to be recited. It is to be observed also that "O Lord, open thou my lips," with its response, is wanting in the German form.

Benedicamus was the versicle, "*Benedicamus Domino*," with its response, "*Deo gratias*." This looks like the close of the service; and, if this was the intention, the *Da pacem* was probably a metrical hymn sung as an addition before the departure of the congregation. In Luther's *Geistliche Lieder* we have a German hymn entitled "*Die Antiphona, Da pacem Domine*," which exhibits "Give peace in our time, O Lord. For there is none other that fighteth," etc., followed by the old Collect, in prose, in a German rendering, "O God, from whom all holy desires . . . that peace which the world cannot give," etc. Our Reformers placed the versicle and response earlier in the service, and gave us the collect at Evensong.

Setting aside doubtful questions, the resemblances in structure between our form of 1549 and the Matins of this German Church Order are certainly worthy of note, and are more marked, I think, than any I have noticed elsewhere. As to the supposed resemblance of the Schleswig-Holstein Order of 1542 to our Matins, I have dealt with it elsewhere.¹

¹ *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, second edition, Appendix J.

V

ON THE MEANING OF THE TERM "DIVINE SERVICE"; AND ON THE SENSE OF SOME OF THE RUBRICS RELATING TO THE SAYING OF THE LORD'S PRAYER

I. **I**N that portion of the introductory matter, entitled up to 1662 *The Preface*, and since then *Concerning the Service of the Church*, we find the words, "the Common Prayers in the Church, commonly called *Divine Service*." And the title-page of the several editions of the Prayer-Book suffices, it is said, to show that the Common Prayer was considered as distinct from the administration of the Sacraments and other rites. In a word, Common Prayer, it is contended, meant, in the language of the Reformers, Matins and Evensong, and, perhaps, the Litany. With our Reformers Divine Service appears, it is said, to have been the equivalent of the familiar term *Divinum Officium* which was applied to the ancient Hour Services, "Divinum" being used to distinguish these services from the *Officium Beatæ Mariæ*

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Virginis, or Hours of the Virgin. This interpretation of the term Divine Service has been supported by a reference to the rubric preceding the Lord's Prayer, where it first occurs at Matins, which directs the people to say the prayer with the minister "both here, and wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service,' when it is compared with the very general, though not universal, practice of the priest alone saying the Lord's Prayer at the opening of the service for the Holy Communion. For, it is argued, here we have no inconsistency between the rubric and the prevailing practice at the commencement of the Holy Communion. The rubric, it is argued, refers only to Matins and Evensong, and, perhaps, the Litany.

Attractive as this interpretation may be at first sight, it will not bear the test of examination. In our present Prayer-Book there are two rubrics which are conclusive that the service for the Holy Communion is included in the term *Divine Service*. In the last rubric of that service we read, "After the Divine Service ended, the money given at the Offertory shall be disposed of," etc. And in any well-printed Prayer-Book, giving the text of the Sealed Books, the first rubric of the Form of the Solemnisation of Matrimony directs that the banns shall be published "in the time

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of Divine Service, immediately before the sentences for the Offertory." Again, though not of such demonstrative cogency as the two rubrics just cited, the first rubric after the Nicene Creed, with regard to announcements to be made by the Curate, adds, "Nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the Church during the time of Divine Service but by the Minister," etc., confirms the interpretation which includes in the term Divine Service the service for the Holy Communion, or, at least, that part of it which was said when there was no celebration.

These three rubrics are peculiar to the Prayer-Book of 1662; and it might perhaps be supposed that the Reformers of 1549 understood the term differently. But examination shows that this is not the case. Among the concluding rubrics of the Communion Service of 1549 it is enjoined that "every man and woman shall hear and be at divine service in the Parish Church," etc. The position of the rubric leaves scarcely a doubt that the term "Divine Service" at least includes the service entitled, "The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass."

As regards the prevailing, though not, apparently, universal practice of the priest

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alone saying the Lord's Prayer at the commencement of the Holy Communion, an authority of such deservedly high standing as Mr W. E. Scudamore declares that the prevailing custom "is clearly contrary to the express rule of the Church, which directs that people shall 'repeat it with the Minister *wheresoever* it is used in Divine Service,'" and adds in a note that it "seems almost superfluous to remark that the expression 'Divine Service' is applicable to the Communion Office according to the customary language of our Church."¹ Another eminent liturgist, Canon T. F. Simmons, is also clear that the prevailing practice is disobedience of the rubric.²

The practice referred to has been supposed to have originated from the fact that the Lord's Prayer prior to the Reformation had been used by the priest among his preparatory prayers; but it is difficult to imagine how this explains the prevailing usage. I should be rather inclined to conjecture that perhaps up to at least 1662, the people did not say the Lord's Prayer in any part of the public service unless they were specially directed to do so, and then in the manner directed.

¹ *Notitia Eucharistica*, second edition, p. 205.

² *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, p. 293.

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Some commentators on the Prayer-Book express the opinion that the rubric in Morning Prayer (which we owe to Bishop Cosin) is expressed in its present language through an oversight of the bishop, and was not intended to affect the opening of the Holy Communion.¹ But this is an unsupported guess, with but little to be said in its support. That little will be noticed hereafter.

It may be added that the occasional application of the term "Divine Service" to the Eucharistic Service has a parallel in the ecclesiastical language of mediæval England. Thus in the Sarum rite at Mass, after the *Credo* the priest, having gone "ad dextrum cornu altaris" and there washed his hands, is directed to turn himself to the altar "ad divinum officium exequendum."² Ordinarily, no doubt, *divinum officium* means the service of the canonical hours, and in that sense is a very familiar expression.³

As early as 1843 James Craigie Robertson, then curate of Boxley, near Maidstone, in Kent, gave a foretaste, in his able little

¹ Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, 185.

² W. H. Frere's *Sarum Customs*, 77.

³ It need hardly be observed that *officium missæ*, as meaning the service of the Mass, is of very frequent occurrence in mediæval works dealing with ritual. But *divinum officium* in the same sense is more rare.

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treatise, *How shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?* of that thoroughness and sound judgment which mark the better-known historical works of his later years. The problem before us he discusses; and in the course of his discussion he makes an observation which seems to me to be worth recording, though I am not prepared to express an opinion of my own on its soundness. "I may observe," he writes, "that in all the instances which have fallen under my notice, of a distinction between 'Divine Service' and Communion, the latter term appears to signify a celebration; consequently that the ante-Communion may be included in 'Divine Service,' although the proper Eucharistic part of the office were not so."¹

The strict letter of the rubric, then, seems to enjoin the saying of the Lord's Prayer at the opening of the service for the Holy Communion by both priest and people. Yet it is observable that although (in addition to the general direction in the rubric after the Absolution at Matins) an *express* direction is given that both the people and the minister should say the Lord's Prayer in six out of the seven times where the Lord's Prayer appears in the services of Matins, Evensong, Litany, and

¹ *How shall we conform*, etc., 2nd Edit., p. 210.

Holy Communion, yet in this instance (at the opening of the Holy Communion) the express direction is lacking. It was perhaps the absence of the express direction in this case which gave rise to the prevailing practice.¹

II. (1) *Is a distinction intended by the use of the words "with him" (in the rubric before the Lord's Prayer where it first occurs in Matins) and "after him" (in the rubric before the Lord's Prayer where it occurs for the second time in the Communion Service)?*

(2) *What is the special significance of the rubric in the Communion Service, "Then shall the Priest say the Lord's Prayer, the people repeating after him every Petition"?*

The last-cited rubric has been frequently noticed by commentators on the Prayer-Book in connection with the rubric at Matins (introduced for the first time in 1662), where the people are directed to say the Lord's Prayer "*with*" the minister, "both here and wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service." The point which is generally made by the commentators is to press the distinction between

¹ In Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* (revised and enlarged edition), p. 185, we find in the comment on the rubric preceding the Lord's Prayer, where it first occurs at Matins, the following, "It is not likely that there was any intention of overriding that Rubric [the 4th rubric of the Holy Communion] by this." But there is no "overriding."

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"with him" and "after him"; and it is urged that the intention of the rubrics is that at Matins the Lord's Prayer is to be said throughout *simultaneously* by minister and people, while, on the second occasion on which the Lord's Prayer is used in the Holy Communion, each petition is to be repeated first by the priest, who then should pause till the people have repeated it.

It may be questioned whether this distinction was intended; for it is possible that "with him" (the minister) in the first case may be simply a direction that the Lord's Prayer is not to be said by the minister *alone*—which was all that could strictly be inferred from the corresponding rubric in all the editions of the Prayer-Book up to 1662. In other words, the expression "with him" may not necessarily refer to the *mode* in which the people were to recite the prayer (that is simultaneously together with the minister, and not by themselves after the minister had preceded them, petition after petition), but may only be an *addition* to the rubric of the books of 1549, 1552, and 1559, in which there was no expressed mention of the people.¹

¹ "The Priest, being in the quire, shall begin with a loud voice the Lord's Prayer, called *Pater Noster*" (1549). "Then shall the Minister begin the Lord's Prayer with a loud voice" (1552, 1559, 1604).

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To return to the question of the special significance of the rubric in the Communion Service, it appears to me that the main burden of thought lies on the words "*every* petition." The rubric comes down to us from 1552; and in the revision of that year, not only was the place of the Lord's Prayer in the Communion Service of 1549 altered, but also the mode of its recitation. For in 1549 the Prayer was said by the priest alone down to, and inclusive of, "And lead us not into temptation," which was followed by "*The Answer*. But deliver us from evil. Amen."

It may be remarked, speaking generally, that the revisers of 1552 had no rooted objection to the familiar pre-Reformation usage of the people coming in only at the words, "But deliver us from evil. Amen." For in 1552, and down to 1662, the Lord's Prayer appears in that form in (1) the Litany, (2) Matrimony, (3) Visitation of the Sick, (4) Burial of the Dead, (5) Churching of Women, (6) Communion. In fact in 1552, and onwards to 1662, of the twelve occasions in which the use of the Lord's Prayer is enjoined in the Prayer-Book, on only six (twice at Matins, twice at Evensong, and twice at Holy Communion) is the Lord's Prayer said in any other way than that of the people coming in at "But deliver

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us from evil." The persistence of this ancient method of recitation down to 1662 is an interesting fact.

On the question whether the "with him" of the Matins rubric was intended to direct a mode of saying the Lord's Prayer by the people different from their mode of saying it—"after him"—on the occasion when the prayer was used for the second time, the following passage from Cosin's "Particulars to be considered, explained, and corrected in the Book of Common Prayer" is worthy of notice. These "Particulars," etc., it should be observed, were written in the reign of Charles I. (perhaps about 1640):—"In the rubric before the Lord's Prayer [after the Absolution at Matins] the minister is appointed to begin it, but the people are not appointed to say after him, as in cathedral churches and most places they use to do. To prevent all diversity therein, there wants here an explanation to that purpose."¹

The reader will note in this passage from Cosin the words "*after* him," and will observe that, whatever is meant by "after him," this was the method in which, "in cathedral churches and most places besides," they were accustomed to say the prayer at Matins in the time of Charles I. In Cosin's "corrected

¹ Cosin's *Works*, v. 507.

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copy" of the Prayer-Book, which was so powerful in its influence on the revision of 1661, we find, "the people also kneeling, and repeating it with him both here and wherever else it is used in Divine Service." The reader must judge for himself whether Cosin really intended by this latter form something different from what he had expressed in the "*Particulars*," etc.—something different from what had been the prevailing usage in cathedrals and most places elsewhere.

And, finally, one has to ask what may be supposed to be the *rationale* of the distinction, if, indeed, it were really intended. I have no doubt that some Durandus of our own day could promptly devise a reason for the difference; but the question is, Could he devise a reason of any weight? One is only too familiar with the follies of many of the explanations of modern as well as of ancient ritual directions.

The usage noticed by Cosin as existing in cathedrals and other places before the last revision had its origin possibly in an inference founded on the use of the word *begin* in the rubric, "Then shall the Minister begin the Lord's Prayer with a loud voice." He was to *begin*, it might be thought, and the people were to join in or repeat after him.

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In judging whether any suggestion of this kind was intended by the use of *begin*, it is right to consider whether what is pointed to is not rather the beginning *with a loud voice*. The rubric had its origin in 1549.

Though the mediæval mode of reciting the *Pater Noster* must be known to most of those who are at all likely to take any interest in the present discussion, I venture, for the sake of the few, to quote the following from Canon Christopher Wordsworth's lucid account of the old English Breviary services. "The Lord's Prayer was not said with a loud voice (except at Mass) until the priest, having said his *Pater* through privately, repeated his '*Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*,' again, when he uttered it *in audientia*, the choir in like manner responding, "*Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.*"¹ As long ago as Wheatley's *Rational Illustration* (A.D. 1710) the rubric was explained by a reference to the mediæval practice; and I do not know that a better explanation can be given. The thought, if we accept this view, is this—the minister is not for the first time to raise his voice at "and lead us not into temptation," but is to raise his voice at the opening words.

¹ *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*, by Christopher Wordsworth, M.A., and Henry Littlehales, p. 84.

VI

MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER.—MAY NOT QUIGNON'S BREVIARY HAVE SUGGESTED THE PLACE OF THE CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION ?

HITHERTO commentators on the Prayer-Book have looked to John à Lasco's *Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerii* and Pullain's *Liturgia sacra* as suggesting the Confession and Absolution of Morning and Evening Prayer in the Prayer-Book of 1552. I venture to think that we may look elsewhere, to a book which we know for certain was largely influential with our Reformers, I mean Cardinal Quignon's Breviary. We have, so far as I am aware, no positive evidence that John à Lasco's book or Pullain's was regarded with respect or approval by our English Reformers. No doubt these books were sanctioned for use in the foreign congregations ; but that is something wholly different from such esteem as would suggest them being taken as guides.

The absence of forms of Confession and Absolution from the Matins and Evensong of

the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. is very puzzling. In the mediæval service-books of England we find in the morning and the evening—at Prime and at Compline—the priest making public confession of his sins ; the choir first asking God's pardon for the priest, and then themselves making confession in like language to that which had been used by the priest ; the priest responding with the prayer for pardon for the choir, to which he added, "The almighty and merciful Lord grant to you absolution and remission of all your sins, space for true repentance, amendment of life, and the grace and consolation of the Holy Spirit," the choir answering "Amen."¹ It is difficult to comprehend how this feature came to be wholly omitted from the first English Prayer-Book. The services of Prime and Compline were both drawn upon in the construction of our Matins and Evensong ; yet somehow the Confession and Absolution did not suggest anything corresponding in the reformed English book.

There is something very touching and beautiful in the mutual confession of priest and choir, and the mutual prayer for pardon ; but the transference of the part of the choir

¹ See Sarum Breviary, *Fascic.* I. col. xiii. ; Brev. Eboracen. i. col. 7 ; Hereford Brev., p. 93.

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(suitable enough in a monastic, or cathedral, or collegiate church) to the people in a vernacular service might have presented difficulties to the minds of those engaged on the work of revision.¹ However this may be, the first Prayer-Book presents us with daily Matins and Evensong lacking any fully expressed confession of sin. It was impossible for this blot to escape observation; and in the second Prayer-Book a Confession and Absolution appear at the beginning of Morning Prayer. The form, indeed, is now changed; "the whole congregation" says the Confession "after the Minister"; and a declaratory Absolution follows, "pronounced by the Minister alone," instead of the precatory Absolution of the pre-Reformation offices.

So far as I have been able to discover, our form of Confession and Absolution are original compositions of the revisers of 1552. It is not improbable that reminiscences of the language of the mediæval forms may have suggested a phrase or two, but the general structure of the forms of 1552 is built on different lines, and the result is by no means among the happiest specimens of the reformer's

¹ It is, however, worthy of observation that Cranmer does not appear to have contemplated the use of these forms in his draft for a reformed Breviary. See Gasquet's *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, Appendix II.

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work.¹ The similarities in language between the Book of John à Lasco and our Prayer-Book are of the slightest kind, and belong to the commonplaces of devotional phraseology ; and the structural arrangements are wholly different.

The absence of the Confession and Absolution from the First Prayer-Book is rendered yet more remarkable from the fact that Quignon's Breviary, which so largely influenced our reformer's work, contains a Confession, followed by the *Misereatur* and Absolution at the *opening* of Matins, preceded only by the *Pater Noster*.² The position which these forms occupied in Quignon may not improbably have suggested to the revisers the *place* which the Confession and Absolution were given in the Second Prayer-Book.

¹ It deserves notice, however, that the concluding part of the Absolution in the service for the Holy Communion shows several points of close resemblance to the language of the *Misereatur* of Compline and Prime—"Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus ; et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra : liberet vos ab omni malo : conservet et confirmet in bono : et ad vitam perducatur eternam." This form having been already utilised for the Holy Communion (1549), the revisers of 1552 would, not unnaturally, have sought to devise another form for Matins.

² Freeman (*Principles of Divine Service*, i. 309), noticing Quignon's transfer of these forms to the beginning of Matins, says, "this was done in the second edition." But it appears in the *first* edition. See Dr J. Wickham Legg's reprint, p. 19.

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Another point of resemblance between Quignon's arrangement of these forms and the Prayer-Book of 1552 is that the *mutual* Confessions disappear.¹

Again, Quignon directs that this "Confessio cum absolutione" should be said at Matins only (*ad matutinum tantum*). It will be remembered that in the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. the Confession and Absolution were set forth in print only at Matins, although they were ordered by the rubric to be said also at Evening Prayer. One may suspect that the rubric was an after-thought.

It will be seen then that (1) in the disappearance of the *mutual* Confessions, and (2) in the *place* in the service given to the Confession and Absolution, the Second Prayer-Book was anticipated by Cardinal Quignon. It is not improbable, as it seems to me, that Quignon's Breviary not only anticipated, but also suggested, these features of the second Book of Common Prayer.

That we should lay down our burden at the

¹ Quignon gives us only one confession to be said, apparently, by some one other than the priest, followed immediately by what is entitled "Absolutio," which consists of *Misereatur* in an abbreviated form (with the response, *Amen*), and then the verse, "Indulgentiam, absolutionem et remissionem peccatorum nostrorum tribuat nobis, omnipotens et misericors Dominus," with the response, *Amen*.

doorway before we enter upon the praises of God is a natural desire of the heart. Our Prayer-Book, in the place which it assigns to the Confession and Absolution, responds to that natural desire. The language of our somewhat over-laden forms might indeed be easily made, as I venture to think, more fitting, more vivid, more personal, and more tender, by reverting, at least in part, to the simpler mode of expression which marks the earlier forms of the old English Breviaries; but we should be most thankful for what we possess, and for the position which it occupies in our services.

In the old form the *Confiteor* is a statement that confession is made to God, St Mary, St Michael, etc., with a request for the prayers of the Virgin, St Michael, etc. But it would be easy to convert it into a direct address to God, and the singular number could be changed into the plural, as more suited to a confession made by all. As adapted and modified it might run somehow thus: "Almighty and most merciful Father, we humbly confess that through our own fault we have sinned against thee in thought, word, and deed. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, and pardon us, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Saviour. *Amen.*" There is something

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penetrating—something very close to us—in the “*mea culpa*” of the old *Confiteor*.¹ And it is to be regretted that in our rather diffuse confession we have scarcely caught the thought.

It is worth observing that the absence of a Confession and Absolution is a feature of the Morning Prayer as prescribed in some of the German Church Orders. Thus the Calenberg and Göttingen Order begins with “O God make speed,” etc., followed by the *Venite* (with an Invitatory), and three psalms (antiphoned), a first and second lesson, followed respectively by *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* (antiphoned)—an opening singularly like the Matins of Edward’s First Prayer-Book.² But nowhere in the service are there a Confession and an Absolution.

¹ The English “uses” were content with the more reserved “*mea culpa*,” not repeated and emphasised, as in the “*mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa*” of the Roman and other uses.

² Richter, i. 363. See the details as given in the present volume, pp. 79-81.

VII

THE ATHANASIAN CREED

I

AN ATTEMPT TO MITIGATE OBJECTIONS COMMONLY FELT TO THE MINATORY CLAUSES OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED ¹

“Deficient imagination is often found in the moral world. Often you find in men an absolute incapacity to realise an unfamiliar situation, to grasp conditions which are not immediately visible. . . . Unable to understand the spirit of a time in which they do not live, or to realise conditions with which they are not themselves familiar, they discard sound teaching simply because they have not sufficient imagination to re-create the circumstances.”—*The Right Hon. G. J. Goschen, M.P.* (Address as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh).

AS you know, I think the Athanasian Creed, as it now stands in the Prayer-Book, is in a high degree ill-suited for use in the large and miscellaneous gatherings that crowd our churches on the great festivals. Indeed, for a large proportion of our own

¹ This paper, in the form of a Letter to a Layman, appeared in print in 1897. It is reprinted with a few alterations and additions.

people it is difficult to understand how the *Quicunque*, in its present form, can be other than misleading ; and I should hail with satisfaction the adoption by our Church in Provincial Synod of any wisely devised plan (I am not wholly wedded to any particular plan) for the mitigation or removal of the scandal and offence now caused to many devout believers by its use.

But the irregular and illegal remedy of the clergyman taking on himself to violate his promises and disuse the Creed, I never will or can countenance. The government of a Church like ours must collapse if individual clergymen are to say what part of their promise they will keep, and what part they will disregard. The Creed at the present time stands in our Prayer-Book ; and while it so stands, every incumbent and every licensed clergyman of our Church is under, not only legal, but also, as I doubt not, moral obligation to use it. And this obligation is further enhanced when once the Bishop has called attention to negligence in this respect, and enjoined compliance with the Church's rule ; for besides his promise of obedience to the Canons, each clergyman makes a solemn promise of canonical obedience to his Bishop. And whatever many of our laity may think of

the Athanasian Creed, I am thankful to believe that they all have a proper sense of the duty of fulfilling contracts, and of complying with obligations voluntarily undertaken.

I have urged on the Clergy that while the law of our Church remains as it is, they should do what they can to remove, or at least alleviate the difficulties now presented to many good and thoughtful persons by the language of the Athanasian Creed. In my sermon¹ I made an attempt to do what I had urged as a duty on others; and here the same general line is taken, but with the sense that greater liberty is afforded me than when addressing a popular audience, in which there always must be many whose education is very imperfect, and whose powers of following a train of consecutive reasoning are not great.

You are, of course, familiar with many of the so-called "explanations" of the minatory or "damnatory" clauses of the Athanasian Creed—for it is *they* that are the main, indeed, I may say substantially the sole cause of offence,—and I daresay you have, like myself, found many of these explanations quite unsatisfactory. I do not care to discuss them. I regret that some of them have been put

¹ A sermon preached in St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, which the writer was requested to print.

forward, for with the more cultivated of our laity it is to be feared that they give the impression of not very ingenuous special pleading for a hopeless case, and do not tend to raise the credit of the Clergy either for intelligence or straightforwardness.

Whatever be the worth of the views that I am now about to lay before you, this much I can say—that they are the outcome of studies that have extended over many years, and have involved the examination of (as I venture to hope) everything important that is to be found in the extensive literature that has gathered round this subject.

What gives offence to many devout and intelligent Churchmen is not the doctrinal statements contained in the Creed, but its, apparently, consigning to eternal perdition all who do not believe the doctrine of the Church as therein set forth. Well, of this you may be certain, the notion objected to is not entertained by any theologians of our day. Let me cite the language of an eminent authority, who, whatever may be thought of his opinions on certain sacramental questions, has never been suspected of dangerous laxity as to the Catholic Creeds. With the language about to be cited I express my own entire concurrence; and I believe that it represents the

belief of perhaps ninety-nine hundredths of the Clergy of all schools of thought. "Ask any tolerably - instructed Christian," wrote Dr Pusey, "and his instinct will respond what every teacher of the Church everywhere knows to be truth. Ask him, 'Will any soul be lost, heathen, idolater, heretic, or in any form of hereditary unbelief or misbelief, if in good faith he was what he was, living up to the light which he had, whencesoever it came, and repenting him when he did amiss?' All Christendom would answer you, God forbid!"¹

But, it may be said, that may be all very true, but is it consistent with the teaching of the *Quicunque vult*? My answer is, it is consistent; but to perceive that consistency demands a careful study of the historical surroundings amid which the *Quicunque* took shape, and a careful study of its phraseology, both in itself and as viewed in the light of these historical surroundings.

(1) The difficulties connected with the Athanasian Creed seem to me to be wholly, or all but wholly, due to the inevitable inability of those who have not made a special study of early history to place the Creed in its

¹ *The Responsibility of Intellect in Matters of Faith* (Oxford, 1873), p. 44.

proper historical position, and amid the conditions and circumstances of time and place when and where it took its origin.

In the correct interpretation of ancient documents we know how it often happens that no amount of natural intelligence or general culture will suffice. To be successful we must know enough of the conditions of life and society at the time of its origin to see its drift and purport. Otherwise we are almost certain to misapprehend its meaning. Take, for instance, some old Scots Act of Parliament, or some of the later mediæval charters written in the old Scots tongue; we try to get at its meaning, and difficulties at once arise from the presence of technical words, of words not technical but wholly obsolete, and (a yet more dangerous source of error) of words still in use but used with an altered meaning. But *the main difficulty* that presents itself to the ordinary reader arises from his want of familiarity with the conditions of civil, political, or social life at the time when the document was originally penned. Now difficulties of a similar kind present themselves to the uninstructed and untrained reader of the *Quicunque vult*.

The Athanasian Creed, even as it stands in our Prayer-Book, is not less than some three

hundred and fifty years old; and its English is sometimes misleading through those shiftings in the sense of words that are inevitable in the lapse of years, but the original document itself carries us back more than a thousand years earlier than the English Reformation into a world of thought and feeling altogether new and strange. Recent researches (confirming those of an earlier date) point to the *Quicunque* as having had its origin in the fifth century, and its birthplace in Southern Gaul.¹ Let us try to picture to ourselves the state of things as it then affected the Christian Church.

(2) In the civilised world of that day the fifth century was a period overshadowed and darkened by widespread and appalling disaster. The barbarian tribes had already broken the barriers of the Empire, and were now moving in great tumultuous waves—Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Alans, Sueves, Burgundians, Vandals—westward and southward, submerging and overwhelming in their course the civilisation of centuries. But it was not only the trade and commerce, the settled and ordinary life, the arts and refinement, the learning and culture of the age, that lay at the mercy of the conquerors. Most of the Gothic tribes had

¹ See Appendix, Note B.

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originally received Christianity from their first missionaries in the form of Arianism, and to them the Catholic faith, as held in the Churches of the West, seemed a noxious heresy, to be repressed, crushed, or rooted out. Everywhere the old inhabitants, the Catholics of the West, felt in more or less degree the pressure of temptation to surrender their faith and adopt the religion of the conquerors. And in some places there followed a persecution of Catholic Christians as fierce and brutal as any that had formerly disgraced the old Paganism of the Empire. The confiscation of property, banishment, imprisonment, slavery, torture, mutilations of a very shocking kind, and frequently death in its cruellest forms, were the penalties for adherence to the Catholic faith. Churches were seized and destroyed in some places, bishops and clergy were driven away, sacred rites were suspended, and, as a last token of insult, the edict went forth that the bodies of the faithful departed should be consigned to the grave in silence.¹ I could fill many pages with horrible details that match the very worst of the Armenian atrocities. They possess indeed an added feature, that the savage cruelties were perpetrated not by Mussulmans but by those who claimed to be

¹ See Appendix, Note C.

Christians. But the two persecutions have this common feature—they both aimed at forced conversions.

The Vandal persecutions of the Catholic peoples of Spain and of the cultivated and prosperous region that stretched along the northern seaboard of Africa, with its rich and populous cities, were such as to awaken both sympathy and dread among their fellow-Christians in Southern Gaul, though not themselves suffering in a like degree. The Vandal fleets were in possession of the Mediterranean, and in the ferocity of their depredations anticipated the violence of the Barbary corsairs of a later date. It was indeed a time of fear and trembling; and with the devout faithful there was ever present the dread that if the trial came to themselves their constancy for truth might waver or fail.

It was in circumstances such as these that some unknown voice first raised the mysterious cry, the chant, the inspiring battle-song of the Faith, the psalm or hymn of constancy and loyalty, *Quicunque vult*.

The very first verse of the *Quicunque* strikes the keynote. Men were being tempted by bribes or threats to save their lives, and so lose them; and the needed cry of solemn warning sounded in men's ears. "Whosoever

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wisheth to be saved before all things, it is needful (*opus est*) that he *hold fast* (*ut teneat*) the Catholic faith."¹ It is as over-toned and suffused with this thought that every succeeding verse is to be interpreted. Critical sagacity and the power of literary interpretation seem to me at fault when one verse or another is picked out, of which the truth or falsity is to be discussed, in its isolation, as a statement of universal application. Certainly a similar mode of treating Scripture texts torn from their surroundings has been a fertile source of exegetical absurdities.

The conditions of Church life at the time help also, I think, to explain the object of the detailed exposition of doctrine that we find in the *Quicunque*. The Arians were wont to put their heresy in forms that had to the uninstructed a very orthodox look. It would be easy to mention several instances where they adopted language that would at first-sight seem scarcely compatible with their creed. They would sometimes represent the differences between themselves and the orthodox as unimportant and scarcely appreciable. The ignorant and the unwary were only too likely to be taken in by their subtlety. In the doctrinal statements of the *Quicunque* the

¹ See Appendix, Note A.

Catholics were given a help to distinguish truth from error, and were thus shown what it was they were bound to "hold fast," and stand by even with their lives in their hands, what they were bound to "keep," to preserve, to hand on "whole and undefiled."

It has been often remarked that in the history of thought the paradoxes of one age become the truisms of the next. It is less observable, but still of importance to note, that the common and familiar principles of one age become obscure, and sometimes almost unintelligible, in the lapse of years. Thus we feel it to be very remote from that way of thinking and speaking about religious truth which prevails in our own day to regard "the faith," that is the sum of Christian doctrine taught by Christ and His Apostles, chiefly as a definite body of truth, a sacred *deposit* (a favourite word in ancient days) entrusted to each generation of believers for safe keeping, to be handed down to their successors without having suffered diminution or corruption—as something to be guarded from all who would tamper with it. Fidelity to "the deposit," the Church's Creed, was looked on as a pressing and primary duty. It was for the Christian in the hour of persecution what fidelity to the colours is to a soldier when

his courage and constancy is tried. The urgent necessities of the time required that in those days this sentiment should be fostered. For the time being it was the paramount obligation. Our temptations are not those of our forefathers in the faith. We concern ourselves largely with investigating truth; their minds were mainly occupied with the thought of "holding fast," preserving, and handing down unimpaired the body of truth which they had received. We have now need to exercise a mental effort to place ourselves in the position of those who have gone before us.

In the days of persecution, nay, in seasons of quiet, when quiet was enjoyed with fear and trembling lest at any moment the storm of persecution might burst out afresh, the constant desire and prayer of the Church was that she might be *faithful to her trust*. In days when torture, mutilation, and death were used to induce poor shrinking hearts to deny their Saviour, it was well that the Church should set over against such terrors "the terror of the Lord." She spoke plain words, even as her Lord had spoken when He declared, "I say unto you, *My friends*, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I

will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear Him, which after He hath killed hath power to cast *into hell*; yea, I say unto you, Fear Him"; and again, "Whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father which is in heaven." And as it was to His "friends" that our Lord addressed His warnings, so it was to her own children that the Church proclaimed the fate that lay in store for the apostate.

In the Church of the fifth century, hearts bewildered and terror-stricken had presented to them the suggestion that some little compromise, some little surrender of the faith they had received, would suffice to release the shinking flesh from its agony. It was an awful trial. And could it be in a mother's heart to keep silence when her children were in peril of deadly sin, and needed to be braced up to the final struggle? "*Hold fast* that thou hast." "He that endureth to the end shall be saved."

The *Quicunque*, thus understood in the light of its historical surroundings, is a voice heard above the noise of the storm, a voice that carried with it its own indefeasible authority in the appeal to conscience. It was the loud utterance of a mother's voice raised in alarm lest the children whom her

womb had borne, and whom she had nourished at her breasts, should be lured by the tempter to their own destruction. It is no "calm-breathed warning," as the poet Keble, with singular inappropriateness, styles it, but the loud and piercing cry of a mother's love and horror as she sees her little ones in their ignorance playing along the edge of an awful precipice.

(3) And here it may be well to emphasise the truth that the *Quicunque*, in its primary purport, has reference, not to outsiders, but to the Church's own children. To *hold fast* and to *keep*, by force of the terms themselves, imply that what is to be held fast and kept is *already possessed*. Unbelief, or misbelief, as such, are not directly contemplated. The history of the time leads us to see that what occupied the writer's mind was a dread of the *surrender*, under temptations begotten by the fear or favour of man, of any part of the profession of the Christian's faith. And it is always within the circle so inscribed that the subsequent verses as to the necessity of a right faith must be viewed. Thus verse 29, which is often discussed as if it were an independent statement, and not to be viewed under cover, as it were, of the main thought and purport of the Creed, when read in the

original text falls in with the pervading spirit of the whole, for it runs: "It is necessary to eternal salvation that we also believe *faithfully* the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ." Thus, while our Reformers in the sixteenth century, through erroneously following here a Greek translation of the Latin, gave us the words "believe *rightly*," and so threw the emphasis on *orthodoxy*, the author of the *Quicunque* threw the emphasis rather on *fidelity*, in full accord with the spirit of the first and second verses, and also of the last verse, more especially in the emphatic wording of the best authenticated text: "which except a man believe *faithfully and firmly*, he cannot be saved." Everything points to the conclusion that it was loyalty, constancy, firmness, fidelity in *holding fast* and *preserving*, despite temptations, the faith as they had received it that is the paramount thought of the *Quicunque*. Even the incorrect rendering adopted by the Reformers, if viewed in essential connection with this primary and paramount thought, presents no insuperable difficulty. To hold fast and preserve the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, let the faithful know what the Catholic doctrine, "the right faith," really is. The plausible glosses of the Arian were well fitted to deceive him.

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To make effectively his steadfast confession he had need to *believe rightly*, i.e. not only to accept in an *implicit* form the faith of the Catholic Church, but to accept it *explicitly*, to perceive what it affirmed and what it denied. But though the words may be taken in this sense, it is certain that the true reading is "believe *faithfully*,"¹ and should, without doubt, be authoritatively substituted for our present form, in the event of our Church deciding to retain the *Quicunque* without the removal of the minatory clauses.

In the meantime, as it seems to me, none of us are bound in this case to belief in an incorrect rendering or a spurious text any more than we are bound to give our assent to hundreds upon hundreds of passages in the Authorised Version of the Bible as we read them in Church, knowing well that they do not give the true sense of the original, and in some cases actually pervert it.

Again, it is worth observing that we find in verse 30 the somewhat peculiar expression that "the right faith is that we believe *and confess*." If we were writing a creed we would say that the right faith is *to believe* so and so.

¹ The adoption of this reading in the text of the English Prayer-Book was recommended by the Committee of English Bishops in 1872. See *Report*, p. 24.

But the *Quicunque*, quite in harmony with the surroundings of its origin, lays stress on the necessity of *making profession* of what we believe. "It is not enough," it would say to the tempted Catholic, "to believe; you must not be ashamed of your belief or terrified into concealing it."

(4) Another verse of the Creed may be referred to in this connection. Again and again I have heard good men protest against the uncharity and arbitrary dogmatism of the words "He, therefore, that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity," laying the emphasis, as they do, on the word "must." Now two words in this rendering are to the uninstructed misleading; first, "will" here, as in verse 1, is simply good old English for "wisheth" or "willeth";¹ and secondly, "must" seems to over-emphasise the thought expressed in the original. The verse runs, "Qui vult ergo salvus esse: ita de Trinitate sentiat." In 1872 the Bishops of the provinces of Canterbury and York appointed a Committee "to undertake a revision of the text and a re-translation of the *Quicunque vult*"; in the Report which followed, the verse is rendered, "He therefore that *willeth* to be saved,

¹ Compare in the authorised version Matt xi. 27; Luke xiii. 31; John v. 40, vii. 17, ix. 27; 1 Tim. v. 11.

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let him thus think of the Trinity." And no doubt this gives the sense much more correctly. The English bishops might very well have observed (though they did not) that the Scottish Church nearly two centuries and a half earlier had not only suggested, but carried through the revision of this text. In the noble though ill-fated *Booke of Common Prayer . . . for the Use of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1637) we read the verse as follows: "He therefore that would be saved, let him thus think of the Trinity." One could wish that the courageous and independent spirit shown by the Scottish Church at that period might stir us to similar action, not waiting on the impeded movements of the Church of England, which, though awakened from her long sleep, and throbbing with new energy, is still, as regards ecclesiastical legislation, "bound hand and foot with grave-clothes." The Prayer-Book, as regards England, is part of an Act of Parliament. It is engrossed from end to end, and appended to 14 Car. II. cap. iv. ; and not one word, not one comma, can be legally altered without an Act of Parliament. A moment's thought will show that this is practically a serious and almost insuperable barrier to legislation. It is, happily, not so with us.

(5) If the interpretation which has here been offered of the minatory clauses of the *Quicunque* be correct, the condemnations will be seen to apply not to intellectual error, but to moral cowardice; not to a conceivably blameless acceptance of speculative untruth, but to the betrayal of a trust. And if it be yet objected "What right have we to assert that every one who yielded to temptation and denied his Lord must perish?" we would reply that this statement is only like the general statements that abound in Scripture that unrepented *sin* (for moral cowardice is *sin*) involves condemnation hereafter. The statement does not exclude the possibilities of repentance, or the allowances which we know the just Judge will make for natural infirmities of will. But there must be a very real sense in which it is true that he that denies Christ before men will by Him be denied before His Father and the angels.

There are throughout Scripture many broad and general statements uttered, so far as form goes, *absolutely*, without qualification, exception, or abatement; and yet we know that they cannot be taken in their absolute rigour. "Submit yourself to *every* ordinance of man": that is the command of Holy Scripture, but we know that it cannot be

accepted without qualification. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die," does not exclude repentance. When we are told (1 Cor. vi. 9, 10), in terms definite and express, that neither fornicators, nor drunkards, nor thieves "shall inherit the Kingdom of God," we do not doubt that the express statement must be qualified by possibilities of amendment and penitence. When our Lord, as a pertinent warning, said "He that believeth not the Son *shall not see life*, but the wrath of God abideth on him," we are compelled by the revelation, which God has made to our hearts in reason and conscience, to except, at least, those who have never heard of Christ. It is plain we cannot take these statements as absolutely and universally true.

It will appear from what has been said that I cannot but think that those commentators on the *Quicumque* who tell us that the minatory clauses are only a setting forth of the responsibility of man for his belief, have shot very wide of the mark. That man is responsible for his belief, *i.e.* that man is responsible for using his best endeavours to know what he ought to believe, is a great and valuable truth; but it is not the truth taught us here. What is taught us here, as it seems to me, viewing the *Quicumque* in the light of history,

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is the simple lesson,—simple to understand, but in the days of trial profoundly difficult to practise,—namely, that we are morally bound to suffer the last tortures of the persecutor rather than deny the Lord who bought us. The terms of the *Quicunque* imply that those whom it considers *possessed* the Catholic faith; and history shows us the character of the motives that were employed to induce them to deny it. The purport of the minatory clauses is to urge them to stand fast, to fight the good fight, to keep (*servare*) the faith.¹ The declaration was made, “Fear not the things which thou art about to suffer. . . . Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life. . . . He that overcometh shall not be hurt of *the second death*” (Rev. ii. 10, 11). “Hold fast that which thou hast (*tene quod habes*), that no man take thy crown” (Rev. iii. 11). There is a *second death*. “Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear Him, which after He hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear Him (Luke xii. 4-5).

¹ Compare the words of St Paul at the close of his life of persecution, “I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith (*fidem servavi*): henceforth there is laid up for me the crown,” etc. (2 Tim. iv. 7).

You may have been present when, some years ago, Mr Goschen, as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, dwelt on the necessity of what he called "the historical imagination" for the realising of the unfamiliar situations of bygone times. But "the historical imagination" to be serviceable must be at once helped and restrained by a knowledge of facts. Few, I fancy, have acquainted themselves with the details of the Arian persecution under the Vandals. The *Historia Persecutionis Provinciae Africanae* of an eye-witness like Victor Vitensis, with Ruinart's copious illustrations drawn from the Arian persecution in Gaul, supplies us with material for reconstructing the historical situation in which our best critics would place the birth of the *Quicunque*.¹ And when once it is rightly placed, nine-tenths of the difficulties vanish. To expect such knowledge or such power of exercising "the historical imagination" on the part of the masses of our people would be absurd. But just now I am concerned with the true sense of the *Quicunque*, not with its suitability for general use.

(6) The original liturgical use of the *Quicunque* was to sing it as a psalm. In scores of

¹ Victor's work, with Ruinart's "Historical Commentary," will be found in Migne, *P.L.* tom. lviii.

the rubrics of the Sarum Breviary (and I may add of our own Aberdeen Breviary) it is referred to as "Psalmus, *Quicunque vult*." It was in fact treated liturgically exactly like a psalm. It had its varying antiphons, and was followed by the *Gloria Patri*. The title of the document in the famous "Utrecht Psalter" is "*Hymnus, Athanasii de fide Trinitatis*." In our own Prayer-Book there are still traces of this use. It is true it has lost the beautiful feature of a varying antiphon, but then so have the Psalms in our reformed Prayer-Book. Yet, we still find it divided into verses like the Psalms, and each verse punctuated with the musical symbol, for the guidance of the choir, which the printers represent by a colon (:). It has, like the Psalms, its old Latin heading; and, like the Psalms, it is followed by the *Gloria Patri*, and "in choirs and places where they sing," it is sung to a chant, and by the alternate sides of the choir, exactly like the Psalms. In the mediæval service it was not substituted for the Apostles' Creed, but was sung with "the other Psalms." In our own English Prayer-Book up to 1662, the rubric seems to have permitted, if it did not enjoin, the use of both the *Quicunque* and the Apostles' Creed. The *substitution* of the *Quicunque* for the Apostles' Creed in the

reign of Charles II. without doubt imparted an emphasis to the creed-like character of the *Quicunque* which was absent from the mediæval service-books. We have been lately told by Canon (now Bishop) Gore that "the best name for it" is "the psalm *Quicunque vult*."¹ And still more emphatically, when speaking before the Church Congress (1896), he declared, "I would have it plainly enunciated that the *Quicunque vult* is, for all purposes, to be regarded as a Canticle rather than as a Creed."² I refer to these words because the name of Bishop Gore deservedly carries weight with many of the more intelligent and cultivated of our younger Churchmen.

Now this aspect of the liturgical use of the *Quicunque* is suggestive. Many of the Old Testament Psalms we cannot in the strict and proper sense adopt, in their every word, as the expression, *hic et nunc*, of our own personal feelings; but we can, to our profit, sing them and in a large measure enter into them by an act of the historical imagination. Even the New Testament Canticles, which form part of the daily Service, can be made use of intelligently only by endeavouring to place oneself in imagination in the position of those who

¹ *Oxford House Papers*, xxii. p. 12.

² *The Guardian*, 14th October 1896.

first uttered them. Any one can test this statement for himself by asking, "What do I really mean when I sing, 'For, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call *me* blessed'?" Certainly when in church on a Sunday evening one of our well-fed, comfortable Christians sings this verse at the top of his voice and with all fervour, he probably has no good grounds for supposing that all future generations will call *him* "blessed," or, for that matter, call him anything at all. Yet none of us would say that he cannot by an act of the historical imagination sing *Magnificat* to his profit. Or, again, let any one ask himself what he means—whom is he addressing—when he sings, "And *thou*, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest." Nor is it necessary to believe in the invocation of saints to sing *Benedicite* with its address to Ananias, Azarias, and Misael.

Now in a like fashion, while we reverently and unreservedly make our own confession in the doctrinal statements of the *Quicunque*, certain other verses of that great Psalm can be joined in only after an exercise of the historical imagination, only after we have placed ourselves in the positions of those who first penned and used them. And if there be something of strain and effort in thus endea-

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vouring to enter into the thoughts and feelings of God's servants in distant times and in circumstances so different from our own, it is yet a practice that is attended by the gain of greatly deepening our sense of the communion of saints, and of the substantial unity of the life of God's family in all ages.

For myself personally, I shall confess that the *Quicumque*, as sung to its inexpressibly solemn music, stirs me as perhaps no other part of the Church's service to feelings of awe and of gratitude. Not to speak here of the wondrous mysteries of the faith therein proclaimed, its threatenings recall to me scenes from the distant years when in the hour of temptation men were found faithful unto death. As the chant in its alternate strains rises and falls, there comes to me the vision of those who in the day of trial out of weakness were made strong—young men and maidens, old men and children, martyrs or confessors for the faith in Christ. How much we owe to them—to God's grace strengthening them—who can measure? But this we know, that each one who was faithful heard the voice of Him "which hath the sharp sword with two edges" (dread symbol of possible vengeance) speaking the words of loving approval, "Thou holdest fast (*tenes*) my Name

and hast not denied my faith" (Rev. ii. 12, 13).

You will believe, my dear friend, that with such feelings as these it is with a pang that I contemplate the possible duty of parting with what is to me suggestive of such inspiring memories. If it ought to be done, I would do it as one mournfully assents to the modernising of some ancient historic mansion in "the old town" of our own city of Edinburgh, associated though it be with stirring memories of our national life. We do it that the living men and women, our humbler brethren, around us may thereby breath a freer and more wholesome air. Or, if I may borrow an illustration from the Church's past history, we sacrifice what to ourselves is most precious and most sacred for the sake of charity, as when the Bishops of the olden time parted with the holy vessels of the altar for the redemption of a captive from slavery.

To my mind, as you know, there is nothing essential to the faith in the retention of the minatory clauses. Originally an anathema was attached to the Nicene Creed; but, happily, it never made part of the liturgical forms of the Church's worship. When the great champion of orthodoxy, Bishop Horsley, the champion of Catholic orthodoxy in his

time (to whom, I may say in passing, our Scottish Church is so deeply indebted),¹ tells us that "what is called the Damnatory Clause" is "no part" of the Athanasian Creed; when such authorities as Lightfoot and Westcott (and are there any more honoured names among the divines of the nineteenth century?) have told us that the minatory clauses are but the "setting" of the truths contained in the *Quicunque*, it may well make lesser men pause before they denounce the removal of these clauses as a betrayal of the Faith. These clauses, as I have ventured to maintain, need present no insuperable difficulty to those who have the time and the measure of cultivation necessary to thoroughly investigate the subject in its historical aspects. But how many of our people are there who possess such qualifications? They are certainly comparatively few. And while things remain as they are, the *Quicunque* continues, as it has for generations, to be a stumbling-block and offence to very many devout Christians.

That there exists at present a constant source of irritation and misunderstanding few, I fancy, will have the hardihood to deny.

¹ Bishop Horsley exerted himself heartily, both in and outside of the House of Lords, in carrying through the Act for the repeal of the Penal Statutes against Scottish Episcopalians (1792).

And a free and independent Church like ours, capable of putting itself in possession of all that scholarship and learning have to say upon the subject, need not, in my judgment, stand timidly waiting for others, tied hand and foot as they are, to be the first to move. The dealing with the public use of the Athanasian Creed has been called by some "an imperial question." The appropriateness of the expression may well be doubted; but, at any rate, as a matter of fact, two independent Churches of the Anglican Communion have dealt with it, each in its own way. Whether the Church of the United States and the Church of Ireland have practically solved the question in the ways most excellent is not now before us. But we know that the action of neither has been a bar to full communion with the Church of England.

It is a real evil when good and devout Christians, who fully and freely accept the whole teaching of the Church on the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity and the Person of our Lord, are unnecessarily scandalised and distressed. It is a real evil when some of our good clergy are tempted to violate their solemn engagements in order to avoid causing this scandal and distress.

But I would repeat here that in the mean-

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time something might be done if the clergy would diligently teach their people how the *Quicunque* is to be understood as interpreted by the historical circumstances of its origin.

APPENDIX

NOTE A

Illustrations of the Language of the Quicunque from the Latin Bible.

It is certain that the *Quicunque* cannot be traced to St Athanasius, whose great name probably gave a currency to the document which it would not otherwise have attained.

It is also admitted that the *Quicunque* was originally written in Latin. It may be of interest to illustrate its language from the Latin Bible.

1. "It is necessary that he *hold* (*teneat*) the Catholic Faith." The sense would, I think, be better given by saying "hold fast": thus:—

- (a) 1 Thess. v. 21, "*hold fast* that which is good," stands as "*quod bonum est tenete*" in the Vulgate.
- (b) Rev. ii. 13, "thou *holdest fast* my name, and hast not denied my faith." In the Vulgate "*tenes nomen meum*," etc.
- (c) Rev. ii. 25, "that which ye have already, *hold fast* till I come." Vulgate, "*id quod habetis tenete*."
- (d) Rev. iii. 11, "*hold that fast* which thou hast." Vulgate, "*tene quod habes*."
- (e) Coloss. ii. 19, "not *holding* the head" (*Revised Version*, "not *holding fast* the Head"). Vulgate, "*non tenens caput*."

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(f) 1 Cor. xi. 2, "*keep* the ordinances" (*Revised Version*, "*hold fast* the traditions, even as I delivered them to you"). Vulgate, "*tenetis*."

Compare, too, 2 Thess. ii. 15 in Greek and Latin.

(g) Heb. iv. 14, "let us *hold fast* our profession" (*Revised Version*, "let us *hold fast* our confession"). Vulgate, "*teneamus confessionem*."

(h) Mark vii. 8, "ye *hold* the tradition" (*Revised Version*, "ye *hold fast*"). Vulgate, "*tenetis*."

If any one will go to the trouble of reading these passages, and more especially the passages cited from the Revelation, with their contexts (for these last contemplate a state of persecution), I think he will begin to be sensible of the atmosphere through which the *Quicunque* must be viewed if we are to understand it aright.

2. "Which faith except every one (*quisque*) do *keep* [more properly, "shall have kept"—*servaverit*] whole and undefiled." The sense of "keep" appears to be *preserve* or *guard* (from mutilation or corruption), and suggests attempts made from outside to curtail or deprave the Faith. Thus we find the expressions *fidem servavi* in 2 Tim. iv. 7. where *fidem*, as it would seem, refers to the body of objective truth or Christian doctrine.

3. "Whosoever will be *saved*" (*quicunque vult salvus esse*). It may have been felt disappointing by some defenders of the *Quicunque* that I have not urged that "*salvus esse*" is *to be safe*, not *to be saved*. I am unable to make this distinction, because I think both the usage of the Latin Vulgate and the context in the *Quicunque* make plain that it is eternal salvation that is referred to. See Acts ii. 21, "whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord *shall be saved*" (*σωθήσονται*): Vulgate, "*salvus erit*." Again, Rom. v. 9, "being now justified by his blood, *we shall be saved*" (*σωθησόμεθα*) from wrath through him": Vulgate, "*salvi erimus*." 1 Cor. iii. 15, "he himself shall

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be saved (*σωθῆναι*); yet so as by fire": Vulgate, "salvus erit." See also 1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Tim. ii. 4, etc.

These illustrations are all from the Vulgate. In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January 1907 (p. 301) there is a particularly valuable paper by Rev. R. H. Malden, establishing in a very conclusive manner that in Patristic Latin *salvari* and *salvus esse* are not distinguishable in meaning. The student should not fail to read with care Mr Malden's article, in view of some recent attempts to render *salvus esse* as *to be safe*.

4. Some, apparently with a desire to lessen the emphasis of verse 1, explain the words "before all things" (*ante omnia*) as meaning *first in order of time*, and tell us that faith must precede conduct. This, it seems to me, is quite to miss the true sense. The insistence is on the *paramount* duty (under the circumstances described in the preceding pages) of *holding fast*. "Ante omnia" would, in fact, be better rendered by "above all things." Compare James v. 12, "Ante omnia autem fratres mei nolite jurare" (Vulg.), and 1 Peter iv. 8, "Ante omnia autem mutuam in vobismetipsis charitatem," etc. (Vulg.). A reference to *Forcellini* and *Lewis and Short* will furnish examples of a similar usage in Livy, Pliny, and Suetonius, and (in verse) in Virgil and Juvenal.

The solution of the difficulties is to be found, not in attempting to mitigate the rigour of the threats of the *Quicunque*, but in perceiving that it is to *sin* (not to inculpable error) that they are applicable.

NOTE B

On the Authorship and Date of the Quicunque.

In my opinion no evidence has yet been produced which enables us with any approach to confidence to assign the authorship of the *Quicunque* to any known author. Those

who care to investigate the subject will find the question discussed in Waterland's classical treatise, *A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, and in Mr Ommanney's recent work, *A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), to which should be added Mr Burn's work, *The Athanasian Creed, and its Early Commentaries* (1896) in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*. But it is different when we come to deal with the date of its production. The evidence, internal and external, makes strongly in favour of some time in the fifth century, and not improbably in its first half. So far as concerns the argument of my letter, however, it makes no difference whether we place it in the first or second half of the fifth century, or, indeed, in the earlier years of the sixth. Hilary of Arles, to whom Waterland attributes the *Quicunque*, and Vincentius of Lérins, who is preferred by Mr Ommanney (see also Dr Cazenove's articles, "*Quicunque vult*" and "*Vincentius Lirinensis*" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iv.), were contemporaries at the earlier date, and both locally associated with the south of France, where news of the North African troubles must have made a profound impression. But the Arian Persecution extended beyond the limits of the fifth century.

The pressure came very near when the islands of Corsica and Sardinia fell into the hands of the Vandals. That the persecution in its extreme forms was not actually pressing at the time on the Gallican Church of the south seems to me to make somewhat in favour of the *Quicunque* having there originated. That Church was in danger, but not at the time in acute suffering. The *Quicunque* is a carefully studied composition, and men under the actual pressure of fierce persecution may perhaps be considered as less likely to attempt so studied and elaborate an exposition of the Faith. But little weight, it must be admitted, can be

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attached to a conjecture of this kind, and perhaps we may yet see a revival of Quesnel's supposition that it was the work of the African bishop, Vigilius of Thapsus, himself a confessor under the brutal Hunneric.

NOTE C

The Arian Persecution in North Africa.

There are few more interesting pictures of the sufferings of the Church in days of persecution than the account given us by Victor Vitensis in his *Historia Persecutionis Vandalicæ*. Victor, who had been himself a sufferer under Hunneric, wrote his work in 487 A.D. It is, naturally enough, marked by strong feeling; and here and there we find a readier acceptance of statements made to him, more particularly about the persecution of Genseric in the earlier part of the century, than perhaps the more critical spirit of our time would approve. But, substantially, there can, I think, be no question but that it gives us a truthful picture of the period with which he deals.

The North African seaboard district, stretching for many hundreds of miles, was before the invasion of the Vandals among the most prosperous, rich, and fertile regions of the Roman Empire. The Vandals, who had passed through Gaul and made some settlement in Spain, everywhere marking their course by the blood of the martyrs, crossed to Africa about the year 428 A.D., and swept eastwards in devastating hordes. Slaughter, fire, and rapine are too common features in the advance of a hostile army to call for notice. But no sooner had they established themselves than the Vandals commenced their persecution of the Catholics. Neither age nor sex secured exemption; and, as was always the case, the clergy, and more especially the Bishops, were favourite marks upon which to vent their rage. In the early days of the perse-

cution, Papinian, Bishop of Vita, was burned all over the body with irons heated to a white heat. A similar cruelty was inflicted on Mansuet, another Bishop. Many of the priests and most honoured of the laity were forced to serve as the slaves of Arian masters. The character of their work was onerous and exacting. They were treated as beasts of burden, and like beasts of burden were urged forward by the point of the goad. Many suffered death; among them were women and children; and even the infants of Catholics were not spared. Others in great numbers were stripped of all that they had, and forced to embark in unseaworthy vessels to find, if they cared, another home. Valerian, Bishop of Abenza (over eighty years of age), was turned naked into the public streets, and the people were strictly charged to refuse him shelter. Crowds were driven into the deserts of the south. The whole story is told by Victor with a vividness of detail which it is impossible to reproduce in summary.

Bodily tortures were not the only methods employed to make the Catholics accept the Arian creed. The finest feelings, the tenderest affections of human nature, were lacerated, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Saturus, a man of rank (under Hunneric), who was given the choice of accepting Arianism or of having his wife handed over in his presence to the embraces of a camel-driver, and his children given into slavery. There is an affecting picture of the wife with the last-born infant at her breast entreating her husband to save her from that abominable fate. After a terrible struggle he exclaimed, "Ah, if you loved me you would not drag your own husband to the second death. . . . I will *hold fast* (*tenebo*) the words of the Lord, 'If a man will not give up his wife and children, and lands and house, he cannot be My disciple.'"

Dom Ruinart has, in his commentary, illustrated Victor's work in a most interesting way. He prints a letter of

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Honoratus Antoninus, Bishop of Constantia in Africa, to Arcadius, a man of rank, who was suffering under Genseric. It was written to urge him to constancy under his trial. "The company of the martyrs, thy predecessors, are waiting for thee ; they guard thee, they hold out to thee the crown. Rogo te, *tene quod tenes*, ne alter accipiat coronam tuam." Nor does he scruple to urge the consequences of surrender ; "Fear, then, the eternal punishments, where the fire always burns, where both body and soul are tortured in the darkness, where, with the devil, soul and body are consumed eternally. Dread Gehenna, and hold Christ fast." The other arguments, drawn from the conviction that the fall of Arcadius would draw after it the fall of others, are urged with great power.¹ It may be added that Arcadius, after enduring most atrocious tortures, suffered death with constancy.

In the later persecution (under Hunneric) Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage, who himself endured with firmness horrible tortures, wrote to his people encouraging them to steadfast constancy : "With tears I beseech you, I exhort and warn you, I adjure you by the majesty of God, by the fearful day of judgment, and the terrible brightness of the coming of Christ, that ye would hold fast more firmly the Catholic faith (*ut fixius teneatis Catholicam fidem*), asserting that the Son is equal to the Father, and that the Holy Spirit has the same Godhead with the Father and the Son. . . . Fear not them that kill the body but cannot kill the soul, but fear Him who after He hath killed," etc.²

The whole volume is full of illustrations of the spirit of the time when the *Quicumque* first saw the light.

¹ "Signifer es Christi, in acie primus ambulas : si tu cecideris, ab aliorum morte non eris immunis . . . *tene fortiter veritatem*."—*Hist. Persec. Vandal*, Ruinart's edit. (1738), p. 437.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 515-17.

II

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE WORD “INCOMPREHENSIBLE” IN THE ATHANASIAN CREED?

A distinguished English prelate in high station is lately reported to have said, “People talked about the word ‘incomprehensible’ in that [the Athanasian] Creed, in total ignorance of the fact that the word was a translation of the Latin *immensus*.” But the question at once arises in the minds of careful students of the history of the Prayer-Book—Is it a fact that the divines responsible for the Prayer-Book of 1549 were attempting to translate the word *immensus*?

Nothing in the field of literary and textual criticism is more absolutely certain than that the theologians of England who gave us the Prayer-Book of 1549 had before them a Greek text of the Creed, and that their rendering is largely influenced by that Greek text. Waterland, as long ago as 1724, set that question at rest for ever. And since Waterland’s day the number of printed Greek texts (not to speak of manuscripts) which might have been in the hands of our Reformers has been found to be considerable. Waterland apparently knew of only one printed text, that

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issued by Bryling at Bâle, which is conjecturally assigned to about 1540. But it has been known for some time to scholars that there were several issues of devotional books before 1548 in which the Greek text that influenced our Reformers had a place. Mr Ommanney, in his very valuable *Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed*, while modestly disclaiming that he pretends to be exhaustive in his enumeration, records about a dozen such books, the earliest printed by Aldus at Venice in 1497, whose text was reprinted at Venice in 1505, at Tübingen in 1514, at Hagenau in 1518, and apparently again at Hagenau, at Florence in 1520, at Venice in 1521, at Paris in 1538,¹ and again at Paris, by another printer, in 1543. The Athanasian symbol appears also in Greek in a Psalter of 1524 (Strasburg), and again in 1533 (Antwerp). When our knowledge of bibliography was more imperfect we might have been puzzled by the question, How could our English Reformers have seen a Greek text of the Creed? Now, on the contrary, we may ask, How could they have missed being acquainted with it?

¹ Mr Ommanney mentions that there is a copy of the Paris edition printed by Wechel in 1538 in the Bodleian, two copies in the British Museum, and one which was known to Dr Swainson. I may add that I possess a fifth copy.

But it makes no difference whether there were many copies or only one, which our Reformers might have consulted. For it is absolutely certain that they had a Greek text before them, and that that text exerted a very large influence on their translation. There is a strong presumption in favour of the view that the Greek and not the Latin text was the *basis* of the translation. Instances where there are variations in the order of words and the form of expression between the Greek and Latin texts, and where the Greek text is followed by our Reformers, will be noticed below.¹

Is it then certain, or is it even highly probable, that our Reformers, when they used the word "incomprehensible," were attempting to translate the word *immensus*? The corresponding word in the Greek text is ἀκατάλητος. And although examples may be found in which that word has the signification of "not to be, physically, embraced, surrounded, comprehended," yet the more common and all but universal signification (especially in ecclesiastical Greek) is the same as the *modern* signification of the English word "incomprehensible," *i.e.* "not to be understood, not to

¹ I have discussed this in the *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, chap. x.

be embraced or comprehended by the intellect."

It has been asserted not infrequently that in sixteenth-century English the word "incomprehensible" is to be understood as "not to be physically comprehended, unmeasured, infinite." But such a statement tells only half the truth, or, indeed, to be accurate, not half the truth. In fact, both in earlier times and in the first half of the sixteenth century, the ordinary modern meaning of the word, as signifying "not to be understood,—not to be intellectually comprehended," is frequent, indeed, so frequent that I should not be surprised if a well-read student of the history of the English language were to declare that this sense was the ordinary and prevailing sense. We shall return to the consideration of this part of the subject after we have dealt with the more important question as to what was the text which the Reformers were engaged in translating.

It is a marked feature of the liturgical labours of our Reformers that they strove to go back to what they believed (whether rightly or wrongly makes no matter for our present purpose) to be the original sources of the documents with which they were dealing. It is clear that they were not content with the texts

as supplied by the mediæval Breviaries and Missals. They show again and again a critical spirit, which has quite a modern flavour. Now (though we know better) what could be more natural to the divines of the first half of the sixteenth century than to suppose that the Creed which bore the name of the great Greek-speaking bishop was originally written in Greek?

The Athanasian Creed in Greek was ready to their hand. Why should they not make it the basis of their translation? All the phenomena presented by the English of the Athanasian Creed in the Book of Common Prayer can, I believe, be accounted for on the supposition that men thoroughly familiar with the Latin text, which perhaps every one of them could recite by heart, took the Greek text of some one of the printed books as the basis of their English version.

In all the principal, all the crucial, cases of variation it is the Greek text which is followed. Thus (1) in verse 12 (note the order of the words), while the Latin reads "non tres increati, nec tres immensi," the English reads "not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated"; again (2) in verse 27, where the Latin reads, "necessarium ad æternam salutem, ut . . . *fideliter* credat," the English reads,

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"believe *rightly*"; and again (3) in verse 40, where the Latin reads, "nisi quisque *fideliter firmiterque* crediderit," the English reads simply "believe faithfully." In each one of these cases it is the Greek text that is followed by the English. Indeed the only important point in which the Greek text is set aside for the Latin is one which must have presented itself to the student of the sixteenth, not less than to the student of the twentieth century, as an obvious error either of the press or of the transcriber of copy for the press. I refer to the omission in the Greek of verse 22 of anything corresponding to the words "nor begotten." The whole context shows that this omission was simply *per incuriam*.

In the view then of the Reformers, as it seems to me, the Latin text of the Breviaries would have been regarded as a faulty Latin translation from the Greek. We now know that they were mistaken in this view; but that fact is not pertinent to the present inquiry. In verses 9 and 12 they found the word ἀκατάληπτος, and the question is, Why did they translate it by "incomprehensible"?

The answer which I would give is that the Reformers were not above doing what most of us do when we meet an unusual word, namely, looking it out in a dictionary. Giovanni

Crestoni, or Crastoni, has the repute of having issued the first Graeco-Latin Dictionary. I will not attempt to deal with the bibliography of this work. It is enough to say that several editions appeared before the close of the fifteenth century. I have had to content myself with looking at that which appeared, in folio, at Venice (*aedibus Aldi*) in December, MIIID. (1497). There we find “ἀκατάληπτος, ὁ, ἡ, *incomprehensibilis*.” But, what is much more interesting, Mr Burbidge in his list of some of the books that were once in the library of Archbishop Cranmer, records the *Dictionarium Graeco-Latinum* of Valentinus Curio (Folio), Basle, 1519. The Archbishop’s copy is now in the British Museum; and there on examination we find “ἀκατάληπτος, *incomprehensibilis*.”

In what sense the Reformers understood “*incomprehensibilis*” is a different question, and will be considered hereafter. What I lay stress on now is that the facts referred to fall in with the supposition that it was the word, ἀκατάληπτος, which they attempted to translate in the Athanasian Creed. And in support of this view I add another consideration. When the Reformers were *certainly* translating “*immensus*” they used, not the word “*incomprehensible*,” but the word “*infinite*.” Thus,

in the *Te Deum*, "Patrem immensæ Majestatis" becomes "The Father of an infinite Majesty." Again in the first of the Articles of Religion of 1552-53 we read that God is "of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness," the Latin equivalent being "immensæ potentiae, sapientiae, ac bonitatis."

Again, there are other considerations which point in the same direction. When Cranmer himself has occasion to translate the word *immensus* he uses, not "incomprehensible," but the word "unmeasurable," or the phrase "without measure." Thus in rendering a passage from Fulgentius, referring to our Blessed Lord, we have "Qui est Deus immensus ex Patre" Englished by, "Who of his Father is God without measure," and a little later (on the same page) another example; and, in a third, "the unmeasurable compass of his divinity," is the English for "immensitatem suae divinitatis." (*Answer to Stephen Gardiner*, Parker Society, p. 98.)

Similarly, Coverdale, in his Preface to his translation of Calvin's *Treatise on the Sacrament*, "The Jews . . . could not abide to hear that God should not dwell in a temple made with man's hands, nothing considering that he is *immensus* and cannot be contained . . . the great blindness of them that knowing and

confessing the *immeasurable* nature of God,” etc. (*Works; Writings and Translations*, P.S., p. 427).

Once again, “The Symbol or Creed of the great Doctor Athanasius: Daily read in the Church,” appears in the forefront of Hilsey’s Primer (of 1539). Cranmer was acquainted with the book, and he bestowed upon it a general approval as being “very good and commendable,” though there were some points which he “would have amended,” had he seen it in time.¹ The translation of the Creed is obviously from the Latin text of the Breviaries; and the verse in question appears thus, “The Father is immeasurable, the Son immeasurable, the Holy Ghost immeasurable.”

These considerations, taken together, raise, in my opinion, a high degree of probability that when the word “incomprehensible” is used in the Athanasian Creed, it is used to represent not *immensus*, but *ἀκατάληπτος*.

A question entirely distinct is the question what did the Reformers understand by *ἀκατάληπτος*, and (according to my supposition) its English equivalent “incomprehensible.”

II. In what sense, then, may we suppose the Reformers to have understood the word *ἀκατάληπτος* and its Latin equivalent “incom-

¹ See his letter printed by Dr Burton, *Three Primers*, p. lv.

prehensibilis"? The answer must proceed from a weighing of probabilities. One may fairly ask, if they understood the word in the sense of "infinite," why did they not so translate it?

Occasional examples are to be found of ἀκατάληπτος (and the same may be said of the Latin "incomprehensibilis") used in the sense of "not to be physically grasped." But it would be easy to supply a catena of passages from the Greek Fathers, from Clement of Rome down to John of Damascus, in which ἀκατάληπτος is used as equivalent to "not to be thoroughly understood by the intellect," and this is, I think, the almost universal sense in which the word is used by the Greek Fathers. Many of these passages must have been known to the Reformers, while, of course, some have come to light since the first half of the sixteenth century. The earliest example is of the latter class; but it may be referred to for its pertinence. S. Clement of Rome (c. 33) speaks of God in His exceeding great might having established the heavens and "set them in order τῇ ἀκατάληπτῳ αὐτοῦ συνίσει." This use of the word is well illustrated by S. Cyril of Jerusalem. The Son is God, "begotten of the Father ἀκατάληπτως before all worlds" (*Catech.* iv. 7). He even anticipates some modern objections, "But someone will

ask, if the substance of God is ἀκατάληπτος, why dost thou discuss these things?" He answers, in effect, that, though we cannot know God fully, yet we can know *something* of his nature (*Catech.* vi. 5). And later on (9) he asks, "If the least of God's works are not comprehended (οὐ καταλαμβάνεται), shall He who made all things be comprehended (καταληφθήσεται)?" and he adds much more to the same effect.

S. Cyril's treatment of the subject reminds one of the words of S. Augustine where he says, "De Deo loquimur, quid mirum si non comprehendis? Si enim comprehendis, non est Deus. Sit pia confessio ignorantiae magis quam temeraria professio scientiae. Adtingere aliquantum mente Deum magna beatitudo est, comprehendere autem omnino impossibile" (*Sermo cxvii. de verb. Evang. Joan.*).¹ But the most copious treatment of the incomprehensibleness of God will be found in the five homilies of S. Chrysostom entitled περί ἀκατάληπτου. There we read that God is incomprehensible to man, yea even to the Cherubim and the Seraphim (iv. 1). If even the dispensations of God are incomprehensible, how much more is He Himself (i. 5). The

¹ See also for S. Augustine's use of "incomprehensibilis," *De Trinitate*, xv. 2.

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drift of the whole discussion reminds one of the declaration of S. Athanasius, *Θεὸς καταλαβόμενος οὐκ ἔστι Θεός*. (*Quæst. ad. Antioch*, i.). He is replying to the objection that if the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, there must be three Gods.

III. We may now turn to the consideration of the early use of the word "incomprehensible" by English writers. As is well known, instances have been found in which the word was used in the sixteenth century in the sense, now obsolete, of "not to be contained physically." The fact that this sense is now obsolete has induced makers of old English glossaries to pay more attention to this, rather exceptional, use, than to the more ordinary use of the word in the sixteenth century. Thus Dr W. Aldis Wright in his delightful work, *The Bible Word-Book*, assuming that the Prayer-book version of the Athanasian Creed was made from the Latin, gives some examples of what is perhaps the use of the word "incomprehensible" in the sense of "not to be measured or circumscribed." Another example is, perhaps, that in a well-known passage of Hooker,¹ "Seeing therefore that

¹ But Hooker elsewhere (*E. P. I. xi. 6*) speaks of "that incomprehensible Beauty which shineth in the countenance of Christ."

presence everywhere is the sequel of an infinite and incomprehensible substance (for what can be everywhere but that which can be nowhere comprehended?)" etc. (*E. P.* v. 55, § 4, *Keble's edit.*) Yet in the sentence immediately preceding, Hooker seems to use the word "incomprehensible" in our modern sense; and in the passage just quoted "incomprehensible" is patient of the modern sense. Hooker may have intended to express the thought, God is "infinite" and so cannot be grasped (physically): He is "incomprehensible," and so cannot be grasped by the mind. There is an excellent example of the obsolete use of the word in Sir Thomas More as quoted in Richardson's Dictionary (*s. v.*). But what I take to be the much more common use of the word in early English can be best investigated with the help of Murray's *Oxford Dictionary*.

Thus we find in Wyclif (1382) "Gret in counseil and incomprehensible in thenking" (Jer. xxxii. 19). "How incomprehensible ben his domes and his weyis vnserchable" (Rom. xi. 33). Again Misyn (*Fire of Love*, assigned to 1435): "He treuly knawes God parfitly that hym felys incomprehensibyll and vnabyll to be knawen." And in Tindal's New Testament in Rom. xi. we read "Howe incom-

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prehensible are his iudgementes, and his wayes vnserchable." And this rendering is followed by Coverdale (1535).

Nor must we in this connection forget the familiarity of Cranmer and his colleagues in liturgical labours with the Vulgate rendering of Rom. xi. 33, "quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia ejus." Compare also Jeremiah xxxii. 19, "incomprehensibilis cogitatu"; and Job ix. 10, "qui facit magna et incomprehensibilia et mirabilia."

To these I may add, from my own reading, John Fryth (who perished at Smithfield in 1533), "How incomprehensible are his [God's] ways." And again from the very year in which the Reformers were at work on their rendering of the Athanasian Creed (1548): "Considering that the nature of godly things is incomprehensible, yea to the highest wits of men or angels" (English version of Erasmus' *Paraphrase of the Gospels* (fol. cccvi.)) And again, in the same work (fol. cccv.) Erasmus speaks of "some small and shadow-like knowledge of incomprehensible things."

Again, in a book that had a high authority in its day, *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty of England* (1543), we find, in the comment on the first Article of the Creed,

"We must know that God is a spiritual and invisible substance, or nature, of *infinite* power, and eternal, without beginning or ending, *and of incomprehensible knowledge, wisdom, goodness, justice, and mercy.*" Let it be noted that this book was approved by Convocation (Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii. 868), and there can be little doubt that its composition is largely due to Cranmer himself. Again, though of a later date, we may cite from the English version of Bullinger's *Decades* (A.D. 1577), "No tongue either of angels or of men can fully express what, who, or of what manner God is, seeing that his majesty is incomprehensible and unspeakable" (iv. 3, p. 129, *Parker Society's edit.*).

We conclude this discussion by citing a passage, which must have been well known to our Reformers because it is found in the first chapter of the first title of the Decretals of Gregory IX. And in this passage the words "immensus" and "incomprehensibilis" are both used of God in the same sentence: "Firmiter credimus et simpliciter confitemur, quod unus solus est verus Deus, æternus, *immensus*, incommutabilis, *incomprehensibilis*, omnipotens, et ineffabilis, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus." The two words are obviously used as conveying distinct meanings.

III

A PRINTER'S ERROR FORMALLY AUTHORISED
IN 1662

The MS. Book of Common Prayer annexed to the Act of Uniformity of 1662, and, accordingly, our present Prayer-Book, reads one of the verses of the Athanasian Creed as follows :—

“And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other: none is greater or less than another.” Attention is called to the word “another.”

In 1549 the words were: “afore nor [in Grafton's second edition, “or”] after other: none is greater nor less than other.” And it is obvious that if “other” is used in the first clause, the same word should be used in the second.

In 1552 the word “other” was retained in Grafton's second edition; but “another” appears in some editions of that year, for example (if we may trust the Parker Society's reprint), in Whytchurche's two editions and in Grafton's first. Hence in Prayer-Books subsequently printed variants appear. This is true even of the editions of Elizabeth's Prayer-Book (1559).¹ Eventually “another” came

¹ See Parker Society's reprint, p. 230.

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to be the general reading; it took its place in the *Booke of Common Prayer . . . for the use of the Church of Scotland* (1637); and it was finally unquestionably authorised for England in 1662.

I have called the substitution of “another” for “other” a printer’s error (possibly it may have been a clerical error in the draft sent to the printers), for it is inconceivable that the change could be deliberate.

IV

“NONE IS AFORE OR AFTER OTHER: NONE IS
GREATER OR LESS THAN ANOTHER”

In the Prayer-Book of 1549 the words ran : “none is afore nor after other: none is greater nor less than other.” The Latin reads “*nihil prius aut posterius: nihil majus aut minus*” (Sarum Breviary). We should have expected the English to read “nothing” for “none.” Nor does the Greek text, which was so largely influential in the English translation, help to explain the matter, for in both clauses we read *οὐδὲν* in the Greek form of the Creed which appears to have been in the hands of our Reformers.

Archbishop Usher (1647) was supplied by

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his friend Patrick Young (Patricius Junius) with a copy of a Greek MS. of the Athanasian Creed in which οὐδείς was written for οὐδὲν.¹ Dr Swainson has noticed that a manuscript at Venice, which is dated August 1426, reads οὐδείς πᾶς ἢ ἰσχυρός.² But all I would infer from this is that the neuter οὐδὲν had presented difficulties many years before 1549. And that particular Venice text abounds in peculiarities. In my opinion we may dismiss it from our consideration in dealing with the question before us.

The Greek text, which in so many points affected our English translation, has been called the Aldus text, because it appeared first in print in a book of the (Greek) *Hours of the Virgin*, printed by Aldus in 1497, and as part of these devotions it was again and again reprinted from 1497 down to 1543.³ The question then is, "Why did our Reformers write *none* in this verse?"

The Athanasian Creed figures to a considerable extent in the German Church Orders. When not said in Latin, it was, I presume, Luther's version which was adopted; and in that version the verse in question was

¹ See *Works* (Elrington's Edit.), iii. 328.

² *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, etc., p. 470.

³ See Ommanney's *Dissertation*, pp. 279-85.

translated thus: "Und unter diesen drei Personen ist keine die erste, keine die letzte, keine die grösseste, keine die kleinst."¹ Here we have the English version anticipated, so far as making "none" (*keine*) refer to *Person*. We are not concerned at this point with the question whether the sense of the original was truly rendered in either the German or the English. We only exhibit the parallelism.

*The Manual of Prayers, or the Primer in English, set forth by John [Hilsey], late Bishop of Rochester,*² *at the commandment of the Right Honble. Lord Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, Vicegerent to the King's Highness,* seems to have been published shortly after that prelate's death.³ This book contains an English version of "The Symbol or Creed of the great Doctor Athanasius. Daily read in the Church." The verse we are considering appears in the following curious form: "And in the Trinity there is *none* before or after another, *nothing* more or less, but all the three Persons be coeternal and coequal to

¹ *Die drei Symbola*. Of this little book four editions appeared in 1538. See Luther's *Sämmtliche Werke* (1838), Bd. xxiii. 251-81.

² Hilsey died in 1539.

³ The almanack for seventeen years which the Primer contains begins with the year 1539.

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themselves.”¹ Here is an awkward and bungling version; but we see in it a partial anticipation of the form of the Prayer-Book of 1549.

There is an undated English version of the Athanasian Creed appended to a “Psalter of David in English, truly translated out of the Latin. Every Psalme having his argument before, declaring briefly thintent and substaunce of the whole Psalme, whereunto is annexed in thend certayne godly prayers thorowe out the whole yere comunly called collettes.” This book (a copy of which is in the British Museum) was printed (it is said) by Edward Whytchurch; and the date assigned to it by Dr Swainson is “in or about 1542.” The verse we are considering runs, “And in this Trinitie there is *none* before or after an other, *nothyng* more or lesse but all the thre personnes be coeterne and coequale to them selfe.”²

This, so far as relates to our inquiry, is identical with Hilsey’s version.

It is plain, then, that before 1549 there had been some difficulty which suggested that “none” should take the place of “nothing” in the first part of the verse.

¹ Dr Burton’s *Three Primers*, p. 326.

² *The Nicene and Apostles’ Creeds*, p. 491.

In the British Museum there is a MS. (2 B. v.), formerly belonging to Cranmer, which contains the Latin Psalter, Canticles, Athanasian Creed, and certain collects with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon version. In the margin there is an old manuscript note at the verse before us which runs, “nullus major aut minor.” This interesting fact was noted by Dr Swainson.¹

It seemed to me worth looking at some of the commentaries on the *Quicumque* which might have been in Cranmer's hands, with a view to discover whether anything was to be found in them which might have led our Reformers to their rendering of this verse.

It is certain that Cranmer was familiar with the *Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum* of Judicus Clichtoveus, for in Cranmer's scheme for the revision of the Breviary he had in many cases adopted the form of the hymns suggested for his reformed Breviary from Clichtoveus rather than from the old English Breviaries.²

The *Elucidatorium* appeared in 1516 (Paris: Henry Stephens). A second edition was issued in 1520. I have not investigated with any care the bibliography of this work; but there was another edition in 1540. The

¹ *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 495.

² See Gasquet and Bishop's *Edward VI.*, etc., p. 353.

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book which was esteemed in the 16th century is still much valued by liturgists.¹

The comment in this work on the verse before us points out that "before" and "after" refer to time; "greater" and "less" to quantity and quality, so far forth as these can be attributed to God, who is above all quantity and quality; and then it is added: "Therefore one of the *divine persons* is not prior in time (*duratione*) to another, as the Father to the Son: for the Son is coeternal with the Father, as the light of the sun is coeval with the sun itself. Similarly the Holy Ghost is not later in time than the Father and the Son (although he proceeds from them), but is coeternal with them, as the intrinsic *heat* of fire is coeval with the *light* of fire and with the *fire itself*."² Similarly the Father is not greater than the Son or the Holy Ghost in respect to perfection, power, wisdom or goodness: neither are the Son and the Holy Ghost after (*posterior*) the Father in these things. But the perfection of the three Persons is the same and equal."³

¹ Guéranger (*Institutions Liturgiques*, i. 489) speaks of it as "ce précieux ouvrage," and Zaccaria as "laudatissimum opus." It consists of commentaries on the ecclesiastical Hymns, Canticles, Antiphons, and Responsories, the Prefaces, and the Canon of the Mass, and, finally, on Proses.

² This was a very early and favourite illustration.

³ Lib. ii. *Canticum Athanasii*.

Our English version, if it be literally inaccurate, gives the *sense* of this passage much better than if "nothing" was substituted for "none."

I have before me the *Psalterium Beati Brunonis Episcopi quondam Herbipolensis*: a Johanne Cochleo, Presbytero, restitutum (Lipsiæ: 1533), in which we have a commentary by St Bruno on the Athanasian Creed. There the comment on the words "nihil prius aut posterius" is brief, but very pertinent for our purpose, "quia nullus anterior, et nullus posterior: nullus inferior, et nullus superior: sed coeterni sibi sunt et coequales."

The first printed copy of Bruno's Psalter is attributed (by Denzinger) to 1480. There was another edition printed by Antony Korberger at Nuremberg in 1494, and a third (from the same place and printer) in 1497. It again appeared, under the editorship of Cochläus, in 1531 (Wurzburg); and again at Leipsic in 1533, the edition from which I quote.¹ Here we have a well-known and honoured writer, who makes no attempt to discuss the meaning of "nihil," but simply glosses it, as if the reading had been "nullus."²

¹ See Ommanney, 231-32.

² The relation of Bruno's Commentary to what is known as the Stavelot Commentary is discussed by Burn in *Texts and Studies*, vol. iv. No. 1.

It is obvious that the Reformers made bold to put an interpretation upon the verse by inserting the words "other" and "than other" in 1549—"none is afore nor after *other*: none is greater nor less *than other*." Having done this, they probably felt little scruple in writing "none." And they had before them the example of the German Reformers in making the "none" refer to the *Persons* of the Blessed Trinity.

Though there is not much probability that our Reformers were acquainted with a MS. of the Commentary on the Athanasian Creed commonly attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, which was first printed by Muratori in the second volume of his *Anecdota* (1698), it may be worth while to quote it, as showing that the sense put upon the words of the *Quicumque* by our Reformers is quite akin to the interpretation of the early interpreter Fortunatus. "*Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius. Quia sicut nunquam Filius sine Patre, sic nunquam fuit Pater sine Filio, sic et nunquam fuit Pater et Filius sine Spiritu Sancto. . . . Nihil majus aut minus. Æqualitatem Personarum dicit. . . .*"¹

Again, in the three ancient commentaries

¹ The whole commentary will be found in the Appendix to Waterland's *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*.

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printed by Mr Ommanney in the Appendix to his *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*¹ there is no hint that "*nihil*" refers to *qualities*, such as goodness, or knowledge, or power. The thought is that no one of the *Persons* of the Trinity was prior or posterior, greater or less than either of the other. This seems to have been the general interpretation of the mediæval theologians; and it is in later writers, like Clichtoveus, that we find a fumbling after the notion of qualities or attributes to make intelligible the word *nihil*.

To sum up, it seems just conceivable, but, in my opinion, highly improbable, that our Reformers were influenced by a Greek MS. reading οὐδελς. And, on the whole, we are led to the supposition that our English (following the example of Luther) is rather a paraphrase of what was supposed to be the true sense of a rather obscure verse, than an attempt to translate it.

If the translation of the Athanasian Creed comes to be revised there is little doubt we shall have to abandon our present rendering. And the shape the verse must take will probably be, "And in this Trinity there is nothing afore or after, nothing greater or

¹ Pp. 314, 345, 368.

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less.”¹ The idea of the original seems to be that in the conception of the Trinity there is no place for the notions of priority and posteriority, or of greater and less.

¹ See *Report of the Committee of Bishops on the Revision of the Text and Translation of the Athanasian Creed*, 1872.

VIII

THE USE OF THE LITANY ON WEDNESDAYS AND FRIDAYS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

TO those who have been familiar from childhood with the observance of the direction in the Prayer-Book for the saying of the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, it has come perhaps to seem a very natural order, calling for no comment. I daresay that many who have not made a special study of the subject might with some confidence conjecture that we have inherited this usage from the mediæval service-books of England. But, as a matter of fact, this is not so. The saying of the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year does not appear till we come to the service-books of the German Reformers.

Dr Bright, in his valuable "Introduction to the Litany," printed in Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, called attention to the fact that, according to the use of York, while Litanies were said every day in Lent, it was

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only on Wednesdays and Fridays they were said processionally.¹

The more striking processional Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays may possibly have suggested to the English Reformers the particular week days prescribed; and in this connection it will be remembered that the first English Litany (1544) is styled in the title "a Letanie with suffrages to be said or song in the tyme of the said processyons," and in the preliminary rubric "this Common Prayer of processyon," though it is not evident that it was intended that the Litany of 1544 was meant to be used processionally.

But the recitation of the Litany twice in the week *throughout the year*, and on Wednesdays and Fridays, must, I think, be accounted for by suggestions coming from some of the German *Kirchenordnungen*.

Luther's Litany had largely contributed material to the English Litany.² Hermann's *Deliberatio* (it had appeared in the German tongue in 1543) suggested the use of the

¹ For the rules as to the Litany being sung in procession on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent according to the use of Sarum, see Frere's *Sarum Customs* (pp. 141-42). The Litany on other week days in Lent was said "in prostratione" and "sine nota." See Procter and Wordsworth's *Sarum Breviary*, Fascic. I., col. dxcī.

² See *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book* (2nd edit.), Appendix H.

Litany in the villages once a month on a Wednesday *or* a Friday, and once a week in the towns. Again, Wednesday *or* Friday is prescribed for the use of the Litany (weekly) in the Saxon Order of 1539, and in the Brandenburg Order of 1540. But our English direction, as it appears in the Prayer-Book of 1549, is anticipated in the Order for Calenberg and Göttingen of 1542, which directs that the Litany should be sung on Wednesdays *and* Fridays.¹

So far as I am aware, none of the modern commentators on the Book of Common Prayer have called attention to the weekly use of the Litany on Wednesday *and* Friday, or on Wednesday *or* Friday, in the German *Kirchenordnungen* of the first half of the sixteenth century. Indeed, I have had to go back for an anticipation of the truth to the *First Series of Notes* which goes (incorrectly) under the name of Bishop Cosin, where we read of the Litany, "*To be used upon Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, etc.*" So ordered by the compilers of this book, at first in imitation of the Lutheran

¹ The Calenberg and Göttingen Order is worthy of study for other reasons. Its office for "Frühmesse" (*i.e.* Matins), though in several respects different from the Matins of our Prayer-Book of 1549, bears, I think, in its general structure a closer resemblance to its earlier part than any other Church Order. See the description of the Order in an earlier part of this volume.

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Church.”¹ The author of this series of Notes would have been more correct if he had confined his remarks to the use of the Litany every Wednesday and Friday. In fact, his quotation from Martin Chemnitz understates the case that can be made. The quotation runs, “Apud nos singulis septimannis certo aliquo die populus frequentior convenit ad publicas et solennes supplicationes, quæ Litanie vocantur.” Presumably Chemnitz was describing the practice of the Lutherans at Brunswick in his time.

For the intention of connecting the use of the Litany with the service for the Holy Communion in 1549, see the rubric in the Prayer-Book of that year, which directs that “though there be none to communicate with the priest, yet on these days [*i.e.* Wednesdays and Fridays] the priest shall put on him a plain albe or surplice with a cope, and say all things at the Altar (appointed to be said at the Celebration of the Lord’s Supper) until after the offertory,” etc.²

¹ Cosin’s *Works*, vol. v. p. 67.

² It may be observed that among the early German *Kirchen-Ordnungen* we find directions to the same effect. When there were none of the congregation to communicate with the priest there was to be no consecration, but the greater part of the service of the Mass was to be said. We find an example of this in the Brunswick Order as early as 1528 (Richter, i. 115), and other examples can be cited.

IX

HOLY COMMUNION

I

THE SOURCE OF THE SUGGESTION FOR THE
RECITATION OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS IN THE
COMMUNION SERVICE OF 1552

THE Commentaries on the Prayer-Book which are in general use consider that "the hint that the Decalogue should be repeated in the public service" may have been furnished by the Order of Service published in London in February 1551 (? 1551-52) for the foreign refugees at Glastonbury by Valerand Pullain.¹

It has been pointed out that the Decalogue (in a metrical form) was sung in Pullain's service at the beginning of *Morning Prayer*, not early in the Communion Service, as in our English Book. And attention may now be called to the extraordinary arrangement in

¹ See, e.g., Procter and Frere, *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 86-88. See also Daniel's *The Prayer-Book : its History, Language, and Contents* (20th Edit.), p. 346, and other popular commentaries.

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Pullain's book by which the Decalogue was divided into two parts; and when the first table of the law was finished, a Confession and Absolution were interjected between it and the remainder of the Decalogue. This was followed by a prayer in which occur words which have been supposed to have suggested part of the response to the last Commandment in our Prayer-Book—"dignare cordibus nostris eam [*sc.* Legem tuam] tuo spiritu inscribere."

I lay no stress on the fact that the Decalogue was in a metrical form in Pullain's book, because Cranmer in another connection acknowledges the difficulty of devising English verse, which may be sufficient to account for the excision of metrical Hymns from our English Morning and Evening Prayer. But we need hardly look for any suggestion from without for such a commonplace of biblical thought as the prayer that God would write His laws in our hearts (Heb. viii. 10; x. 16). And the reader will find this very thought in the revisers' paraphrase of the *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, in our Ordinal of 1549-50—

"In faithful hearts writing thy law,
The finger of God's hand."

It is to me a matter of some surprise that commentators on the Prayer-Book do not

appear to have observed that the Ten Commandments appear, not at Morning Prayer as in Pullain's book, but in the order of the Mass, or Supper of our Lord, in several of the German service-books.

Thus, in the *Frankfurter Kirchenordnung* (1530) we find the direction that the Ten Commandments should be sung just before the Exhortation warning against unworthy reception.¹ One may suspect that a German metrical version of the Decalogue was intended, such as Luther's metrical version (1524), each verse of which was followed by "Kyrieleis." This was translated into English verse by Coverdale in his *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes* (printed before 1539). And there each commandment was followed in this English metrical version by "Kyrieleyson." And this fact is to be noted in connection with the opening words of the responses to the Commandments in our English Prayer-Book, "Lord have mercy upon us."

Again (and it is strange that these and the subsequent examples are not cited by Dr Jacobs) in the *Christlike Ordeninge* for Bremen (1534) we find the order of the Mass run

¹ Richter, i. 141. This was pointed out by Dr H. E. Jacobs, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Lutheran College of Philadelphia, U.S.A. (*Lutheran Movement in England*, p. 278).

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thus :— Introit, Kyrie, Gloria in excelsis, Collect, Epistle, Psalm or Sequence, Gospel, Sermon, "Vorlesung (*exposition*) der zehn Gebote, etc." ¹

Again, in Bugenhagen's *Kerken Ordeninge* for Pomerania (1535), in the course of the Mass, after the prayer for all estates of men, the Ten Commandments might be sung ² as an alternative for *Da pacem*.

In the Church Order for Northeim (1539) there was a rehearsal of the Ten Commandments, placed, as in the Order for Pomerania, after the prayer for the Church and Rulers, etc. ³

In the Order for Calenberg and Göttingen (1542) the Decalogue came in immediately before the General Confession and Absolution, in the Mass, followed by the Consecration and Communion.

These examples will perhaps suffice to show that the introduction into the Mass of the Ten Commandments, in one form or another, was a feature of several of the German *Kirchenordnungen*. And it is certainly not wholly improbable that some suggestion from the German Church Orders may have led the English revisers in 1552 to adopt the course which they pursued. At least the facts should be known.

¹ Richter, i. 245.

² *Ibid.*, i. 258.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 288.

Cranmer had several acquaintances among the German Reformers. With some he corresponded by letters, and his interest in the state of things in Germany is manifest.

The Act of Uniformity of 1552 was debated in Parliament between 9th March and 14th April, when the session closed. The Prayer-Book as revised, says the Act, was "hereunto annexed," and presumably was in shape when the Bill was introduced. The imprint of Pullain's book bears date, "Lond. 23 Februar. Ann. 1551." If 1551 is to be understood as 1551-52, it would just allow of the possibility of its influencing the revision. But, as has been observed, in Pullain's book, the Ten Commandments, grotesquely divided into two parts by a Confession and Absolution, appear at the beginning of Morning Prayer.

On the whole, I am rather inclined to think that the placing of the Ten Commandments in the service for the Holy Communion was due to suggestions from one or other of the German *Kirchenordnungen*.

The place of the Decalogue in the Order for Calenberg and Göttingen, immediately before the Confession and Absolution, seems more appropriate than where it appears in our Prayer-Book. But the custom of non-communicants departing before the concluding

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part of the service, or, as is implied in the rubric of the First Prayer-Book, departing at least from the quire, may have induced those responsible for the Prayer-Book of 1552 to place instruction so valuable for all at a part of the service when all would be present.

II

THE MANNER OF ANNOUNCING THE EPISTLE AND GOSPEL

In the old English Missals we do not find any direction as to a preparatory announcement by the reader of the sources from which the Epistle and Gospel are drawn. But in actual practice there was such an announcement as "Lectio Epistolæ beati Pauli ad Romanos," and "Initium [or Sequentia] sancti Evangelii secundum Lucam," as in the modern Roman Missal, as may be seen by a reference to Frere's *Sarum Customs*.¹ The English Prayer-Book is precise, and the *chapter* (and in the present Prayer-Book the *verse*) is announced. Whether there is any great gain in this precision of reference one may doubt. But there it is. We give chapter and verse, as if we challenged men to verify what we say.

In the Prayer-Book of 1549 we find the

¹ Pp. 165, 166.

rubric, "The priest, or he that is appointed, shall read the Epistle, in a place assigned for the purpose, saying, The Epistle of Saint Paul, written in the — chapter of — to the —"; and similarly, "the priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel, shall say, The holy Gospel written in the — chapter of —." In this we had been anticipated by some of the German Church Orders. Thus in the Brunswick Order, 1528, there is the direction that the priest should turn to the people, and say, "Thus wrote S. Paul to the Romans in the tenth chapter"; and a similar announcement, *mutatis mutandis*, is to be made before the Gospel. An announcement of a similar kind as regards the Epistle will be found in the Brandenburg-Nuremberg Order of 1533.

Again, the curious practice (still observed according to the Roman Missal) of commencing lections from the Epistles taken from St Paul's writings with the word "Fratres," and those taken from the other Epistles with the word "Charissimi," seems to have been discontinued in Germany, as it afterwards was by us. Similarly, the prefixing to the Gospel the words, "In illo tempore," disappears.¹ That

¹ The above indicates only the salient features of a rather elaborate system. Passages taken from St Paul's Pastoral Epistles began with "Charissime." Sections from the Acts and from the historical books of the Old Testament are com-

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was natural, if we are so precise as to give chapter and verse for our citations, for the words introduced form no part of the passages of Scripture. More particularly, the words "In illo tempore" have nothing to commend them.

The reader need hardly be reminded that the subdivision of chapters of the Bible into verses had not appeared in English versions at the date (1549) of the first Prayer-Book, so that we cannot infer that Cranmer was less anxious to be exact than churchmen were at a later time. Neither in the Old Testament nor the New did verse divisions appear in any English version before that of Geneva (1557-60).

In the announcement of the Epistle and Gospel the reference to the verse as well as the chapter appears first in the Scotch Booke of Common Prayer (1637), and was adopted in England in 1662.

III

THE COLLECTION FOR THE POOR AND PIOUS USES

The prominent place given in our Service to a collection of money for the poor in the Service for the Holy Communion was a

monly introduced with the words "In diebus illis"; and passages from the Prophets with "Hæc dicit Dominus." But there were exceptions and variations from these general rules.

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novelty in England in 1549.¹ In the mediæval Church "oblations" indeed were often made at Mass by pious persons to the priest, and on "offering days" (generally four times a year) the "Mass-penny" had to be paid, but that the ordinary rule should be that a collection for the poor was to form the normal order on every Sunday and holy day was quite a new thing. It had, however, been adopted some years earlier in Germany, as we see from many of the German Church Orders. Indeed Luther, in the prefatory discourse in his *German Mass* (1526), makes special mention of almsgiving as part of the service of God, referring more particularly to 2 Cor. ix. In Hermann's Order of the Lord's Supper the time appointed for the people to make their offerings intended for the Poores' Chest was while the Nicene Creed was sung. We have certainly improved upon that arrangement.

Compare with the words of the rubric of 1549, "so many as are disposed . . . everyone according to his ability and charitable mind," Hermann's "their free-will offerings, each according as God has blessed him."²

¹ The antiquities of the subject of the oblations of the people is very fully dealt with in Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*.

² On the modes of collecting money for parochial expenses and pious uses, as distinguished from alms for the poor, see Gasquet's *Parish Life in Mediæval England*, pp. 127-30.

IV

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF "OUR ALMS AND OBLATIONS"? AN HISTORICAL STUDY¹

The object of the following paper is to investigate, solely on historical grounds, the sense of the word "oblations," as it occurs in the prayer "For the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth" in the Book of Common Prayer, etc., of the Church of England. It is now several years since the subject was discussed at considerable length by the late Dr Howson (Dean of Chester) and the learned liturgist, the late Canon T. F. Simmons.² The discussion was not exhaustive. A good deal of additional evidence deserves consideration, and the evidence formerly adduced claims a fresh review.

I. As is well known, the word "oblations" appears for the first time in the prayer "For the whole state of Christ's Church" in the Prayer-Book of 1662. Now in the same Prayer-Book we find a new rubrical direction (placed immediately before this prayer and after the rubric directing the reception and

¹ This paper appeared originally in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1900. It is now reprinted with some corrections and additions.

² In the pages of the *Churchman* (January and June, 1882).

presentation of money-offerings from the people), ordering that "when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient." Hence some have concluded (and not unnaturally at first sight) that in the phrase "alms and oblations," occurring in the prayer immediately following, we have a reference to the two several things placed consecutively upon the table,—in "alms" to the collected money of the congregation, in "oblations" to the elements. It is also to be observed that the collected money is first placed on the table, and then the bread and wine; and in the subsequent prayer the order of the words is "alms" first and then "oblations." This interpretation has the charm of simplicity, and is undoubtedly attractive. The student of Christian antiquity is pleased to see here what he thinks a revival of the rite of offering the bread and wine in a manner that reminds him of the practice of the Church in days as early as those of Justin Martyr.

Yet a further examination of the evidence will lead the inquirer to hesitate in accepting this interpretation. And, first, it will be observed that the prayer for the Church militant is ordered to be said whether there

is a Communion or not. If no bread and wine have been placed upon the table, the minister is still enjoined to ask God mercifully to accept "our alms and oblations." This fact alone seems sufficient to dispose of the view of those who take the word "oblations" to refer *exclusively* to the bread and wine. Hence, although this view was put forward not many years after the publication of the Prayer-Book of 1662 by Symon Patrick (afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and then of Ely), it must be dismissed as inconsistent with the text of the Prayer-Book itself.¹

Secondly, the study of the writings of the English divines of the seventeenth century shows very plainly that there was a school of Churchmen whose study of the Fathers and of the ancient Liturgies made them well acquainted with the beautiful and edifying rite of offering God's creatures of bread and wine

¹ "We pray him therefore, in our communion service, to accept our 'oblations' (meaning those of bread and wine) as well as our 'alms,'" *Mensa Mystica* (*Works*, Oxford, 1858, vol. i. p. 115). The editor of the Oxford edition of Patrick's *Works* does not inform us from what edition of the *Mensa Mystica* he has printed his text. These words did not, of course, appear in the first edition (1660), but they are to be found in the second (1667) and subsequent editions. If the conclusions of this paper be accepted, Patrick's observation is an illustration of the caution with which even almost contemporary glosses are to be viewed. For further observations on Patrick's view, see towards the close of this article.

at the altar prior to consecration. There can be little doubt that there were some in 1661 who would gladly have seen the rite introduced into the English Prayer-Book, as, in 1637, it had been introduced, with the approval of Laud and Wren, into the Scottish Prayer Book.¹ We find evidence of a disposition among the divines of the seventeenth century to regard the elements of bread and wine as "oblations" as early, at least, as Dean Field, who wrote, "We must observe that by the name sacrifice, gift, or present, first, the *oblation* of the people is meant that consisteth of bread and wine, brought and set upon the Lord's Table."² Again, Joseph Mede, though from a somewhat different standpoint, laid great stress on the *oblation* of the bread and wine.³ The learned layman, Hamon L'Estrange, writing shortly before the last revision,⁴ reckons as the first of "the sacrifices and oblations" of the Holy Communion "the bringing of our gifts to the altar, that is the

¹ The rubric of the Scottish Prayer-Book runs thus: "And the Presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table, that it may be ready for that service."

² *Of the Church* (Edit. 1628), p. 204.

³ See more particularly *The Christian Sacrifice*, chap. viii. (1635).

⁴ L'Estrange died in 1660. The *Alliance* was not published till 1659.

species and elements of the sacred symbols.”¹ Herbert Thorndike was not only a “co-adjutor” on the Episcopal side at the Savoy Conference, but was a member of the Convocation of Canterbury (1661) which adopted our present Prayer-Book; and his signature, as Proctor of the clergy of the Diocese of London, is subscribed to “the Book annexed.” Two years previously he had written, “The elements of the Eucharist before they be consecrated are truly accounted *oblations* or sacrifices.”² These passages (and others could be added) are sufficient to show that there were churchmen in the seventeenth century who were not unlikely to be willing to see a ceremonial offering of the bread and wine introduced into the English Prayer-Book.

But, more than this, we have evidence that a proposal with this intent was actually brought before the revisers of 1661, and brought before them by no mean authority. Indeed, no one exercised a more powerful influence upon the work of the last revision than John Cosin. We can say with considerable confidence that Cosin’s corrections and

¹ *Alliance of Divine Offices*, p. 273 (Lib. Anglo-Cath. Theol.).

² *Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England* (printed in the Lib. Anglo-Cath. Theol. ; *Works*, vol. iv. part i. p. 107).

emendations of the Prayer-Book, as exhibited in Sancroft's "fair copy" (now in the Bodleian), was a volume actually before the committee engaged on the review of the Prayer-Book at Ely House in 1661.¹ Now in this book we find the suggested rubric, "And if there be a Communion, the priest shall then offer up and place upon the Table soe much Bread and Wine as he shall thinke sufficient." Here was a suggested rubric that came before the committee with all the weight of Cosin's well-deserved reputation ; but the committee, while adopting the substance of the rubric, deliberately struck out the words "*offer up.*" It is difficult to conceive a more emphatic expression of dissent from the view that the placing of the bread and wine upon the table was to be put forward, in the Prayer-Book of 1662, as an offering or oblation. And it should be observed that it is not as though the omission was *per incuriam* ; the suggestion was made, and it was deliberately rejected.

Thirdly, the influence of the ill-fated Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637 upon the last revision of the English Prayer-Book could easily be illustrated by scores of examples.

¹ For an account of Sancroft's "fair copy," see Parker's *Introduction to the History of the Successive Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. xcvi.

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In that book in the corresponding rubric we read "the presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine," etc. But in the case of this particular rubric its influence was insufficient to effect the adoption of the rubric in its entirety in the Prayer-Book of 1662: "offer up" was not adopted.

Fourthly, of signal import, as bearing upon our inquiry, is the striking difference and contrast between the language of the present rubric with reference to the presentation of the "alms and other devotions" of the people and its language with reference to the placing of the elements. We exhibit the two in juxtaposition, italicising the words that bring out the contrast.

"The Deacons, Churchwardens, or other fit person appointed for that purpose, . . . and *reverently bring it* [the decent bason] to the Priest, who shall *humbly present and place it* upon the holy Table."

"And when there is a Communion the Priest shall then *place* upon the Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient."

The alms, etc., are to be *reverently* brought, and *humbly presented and placed*: while not a word is said of the presentation of the elements. They are to be "placed," and the rubric does not qualify the mode of their being placed. This contrast in rubrics immediately

consecutive, and more particularly in view of the fact that the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637 and Cosin's notes were before the revisers, seems to point to the superior influence, with regard to this question, of those among the revisers who may be called the more conservative, or cautious, or timid party. If there had been a suspicion about such words as "offer up," the word "present," one would fancy, might have been used with little danger of giving offence; yet even the word "present" is avoided. It is impossible to ignore the significance of the contrast.

It may be here remarked that, while the first of the four considerations that have been laid before the reader is simply destructive of the theory that the word "oblations" refers *exclusively* to the elements, the other three raise and support the presumption that since the word "offer" and even the word "present" have been studiously avoided, we are not warranted in supposing that the elements together with the "other devotions" of the people were by the advisers intended to be included under the word "oblations" occurring in the prayer following.

II. But it will be reasonably asked—If the word "oblations" does not refer to the elements, to what does it refer? And why was

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it introduced for the first time at the last revision? Both these questions can, it seems to me, be satisfactorily answered.

It will be best, in the first place, to illustrate the use of the word "oblations" as applied to offerings in money. The rubric of the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637 has been often pointed to in this connection, but it is so pertinent that it may once again be transcribed. It runs as follows:—"While the Presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the offertory, the Deacon, or (if no such be present) one of the Church-wardens shall receive the *devotions* of the people there present in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have *offered*, hee shall reverently bring the said bason with the *oblations* therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the holy Table."¹ Now in the same book, at the end of the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, we find a rubric directing that "*that which was offered* shall be divided in the presence of the Presbyter and the Church-wardens, whereof one half shall be to the use of the Presbyter to provide him books of holy divinity: the other half shall be faithfully kept

¹ The italics are mine.

and employed on some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishings of that Church, or the publike relief of their poore, at the discretion of the Presbyter and Church-wardens." We see from this that half of the *oblations* which had been brought in the bason were always to go to increasing the clergyman's library, and that of the other half the whole, or part of it, might be spent upon such pious uses as the furnishing of the church. It was natural when the relief of the poor was only a possible destination of the money offerings to choose the more comprehensive word. Yet in the Scottish Prayer-Book the adjustment of expression was halting, for in the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church" we have no words referring to "oblations" as distinct from "alms." This blot, as we shall see, was observed by Cosin, and a correction suggested.

At this point it may be well to exhibit some evidence illustrative of the use of the word "oblations" with particular reference to moneys given towards the maintenance of the clergy. If the liturgical student is familiar with the application of the word "oblations" to the offering of the elements in the service of the Eucharist, those who extend their inquiries into the wider field of Church law and custom

are familiar with another technical or quasi-technical use of the term.

And, first, it may be well to glance at the use of the word in the mediæval period. We have ample evidence of the use of *oblaciones* in the sense of money-offerings towards the maintenance of the clergy, and more particularly to the money-offerings made at Mass. Thus in the Statutes of the Church of Lichfield, enacted in 1194, we read, "*Dignitas autem ecclesiæ Lichfeldensis est, ut quicumque capellanus, notus vel ignotus, in aliquo altari, principali tamen excepto, celebraverit, oblaciones omnes argenti, quæ sibi offeruntur, ad usus suos libere poterit retinere, nisi pro aliquo quinque presbyterorum celebrare sit requisitus.*"¹

In the Statutes of the Synod of Exeter (1287) it is provided that the erection of chapels should not be prejudicial to the interests of the mother parochial church, and therefore it was enacted "*ut sacerdotes in dictis capellis ministrantes universas oblaciones, quas in ipsis (al. ipsos) offerri contigerit, ecclesiæ*

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 499. The five presbyters here referred to I take to be the five chaplains appointed specially to the duties of the great altar. Without the permission of that one of the five who happened to be at the time "hebdomadary," no one with the exception of the bishop and the dean was permitted to celebrate at the great altar. *Ibid.*, 500.

matricis rectori cum integritate restituant."¹ Gilbert, Bishop of Chichester, in Synod, in 1292, condemned certain accursed persons who, at weddings, churchings, and other rites, "ad unius *oblationem* denarii *devotionem populi* restringere sunt moliti; residuum *oblationis* fidelium suis pro libito vel alienis usibus applicantes."² In Lynwood's *Provinciale*, after learning the general sense of the word, we read, "Specialiter vero loquendo dicitur *Oblatio* id quod in *Missa* offertur sacerdoti, quae in praecipuis festivitatibus debita et necessaria est."³ What was originally voluntary, and in theory was for a long time voluntary, came to be regarded as "dues." The offering-days, generally four in number, are often mentioned, but they were not, with the exception of Christmas and Easter, everywhere the same. In the Constitutions (1256) of Giles de Bridport, Bishop of Salisbury, all parishioners are enjoined to *offer* four times a year, "scilicet in die natalis Domini, in die Paschæ, in die solennitatis ecclesiæ, et in dedicatione ecclesiæ."⁴ In the Constitutions of the Synod of Exeter in 1287 (referred to above) there is a whole chapter *De Oblationibus*, in which it was ordained that every adult, viz., every one

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*, ii. 137.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 183.

³ Lib. i. tit. 3, p. 21 (Edit. 1679).

⁴ Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 713.

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of fourteen years and upwards, should bring his *oblations* to the parish church four times a year, namely, at Christmas, Easter, the feast "sancti loci," and the feast of the dedication of the church or (if such were the custom of the place) the feast of All Saints.¹ Coming down to the period of the Reformation we find the Act 27 Henry VIII., c. 12 (1536), ordaining "that the Feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter Day, of the Nativity of St John Baptist, and St Michael the Archangel be accounted, accepted, and taken for the four general Offering-Days." The bearing of the Offering-Days (which were continued in the Reformed Church, and were referred to in the rubric² up to the last revision of the Prayer-Book) on the choice of the offertory sentences will be seen later on.

It was, of course, quite common to make an offering for the use of the priest on other days besides the days known more particularly as "offering-days." And in the accounts kept of the expenses of noble and royal personages in the mediæval period the frequency of such oblations is very observable. In vernacular

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*, ii. 160, where other interesting obligations concerning "oblations" will be found.

² "And upon the offering days appointed every man and woman shall pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings."

books of devotion for the laity references to the general practice are common.¹

As to the exact time at Mass and the manner in which the offerings of the laity were made, the rubrics of the English missals are, so far as I know, silent. But the popular books, which we may call “Companions to the Mass,” show that the people made their oblations immediately after the Mass-Creed and Offertory had been sung. At this point those who wished to offer went up towards the altar.² Though this was probably the general mode of the laity making their offerings, it is likely enough that there were local variations, as there were certainly abuses that had to be corrected, such, for instance, as that condemned in a thirteenth-century Scottish Statute, from which it appears that at the communion of the laity on Easter Day certain

¹ Much information on the subject will be found in Canon Simmons' notes to the *Lay Folks' Mass-Book* (E.E.T.S.), pp. 222-44.

² Canon Simmons (*Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, p. 236) gives evidence in support of the following statement: “Up to the Reformation the offerers used to come up to the altar, upon the celebrant giving them a signal by turning round; perhaps if they were slow in coming, by asking for his offering; or by coming down to the altar steps, attended, if it were high Mass, by deacon and sub-deacon; or, in a small church, by the parish clerk. The offerings were placed in the hands of the celebrant, or in a bason held by the clerk or by laymen of estate,” etc.

priests would hold the host in their hands and not deliver it till the lay communicant had actually handed over his oblation.¹

For the purpose of this paper this hasty glance at mediæval usage will suffice ; and we come down to what for our object is of more importance, the use of the word "oblation" in the reformed Church of England. There is a pertinent passage in Hooker, which, though familiar, deserves citation, because it is not only itself an historical testimony, but from the weight and authority of the writer it would naturally have influenced the thoughts and the language of the divines of the seventeenth century. T[homas] C[artwright] had objected to the word "offerings" being applied to the money given to the clergyman by women at their churching. Hooker thus replied—"The name of Oblations applied not only here to those small and petit payments which yet are a part of the minister's right, but also gene-

¹ *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, vol. ii. p. 40, "Audivimus a quibusdam cum in die Pasche fideles Christi suscipere debent Eucharistie sacramentum, quidam presbyteri (quod dolentes referimus) illud prestare denegant impudenter nisi prius *oblaciones* suas tunc porrigant ad altare, et eodem die exactiones faciunt a laicis, corpus Christi tenentes in manibus ac si dicerent *Quid mihi vultis dare, et ego eum tradam.*" At Salisbury we find an ordinance against receiving after Mass oblations from the laity who have communicated on Easter Day. See Frere's *Sarum Customs*, p. 162.

rally given unto all such allowances as serve for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and convenient. For as the life of the clergy is spent in the service of God, so it is sustained with his revenue. Nothing therefore more proper than to give the name of Oblations to such payments in token that we offer unto him whatsoever his ministers receive."¹

I next present an example of the use of the word "oblation" of an earlier date, and this time in association with the word "alms." It will be seen too that it is used in a wider sense than that of offerings for the clergy, and its application extends generally to gifts for "pious uses." The passage is from the royal "Injunctions" of 1547.² "They shall provide and have within three months after this visitation a strong chest, with a hole in the upper part thereof . . . which chest you shall set and fasten near unto the high altar, to the intent the parishioners should put into it their *oblation and alms* for their poor neighbours . . . the which *alms and devotion* of the people the keepers of the keys shall at times convenient take out of the chest, and distribute the same in the presence of the whole parish,

¹ *Ecclesiastical Polity*, V. lxxiv. 4 (Keble's Edit.).

² Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 3. The *Injunctions* will also be found in Cranmer's *Miscellaneous Writings* (Parker Society), p. 503.

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or six of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most needy neighbours ; and if they be provided for, then to the reparation of highways next adjoining.”¹ For proof that the repair of public roads was regarded as a work of Christian charity at a date before the Church of England had rejected the supremacy of Rome, we need not go further back than to a sermon of Latimer preached at Cambridge as early as 1529. “Oblations,” he said, “be prayers, alms-deeds, or any work of charity: these be called oblations to God.” And again, “Evermore bestow the greatest part of thy goods in works of mercy, and the less part in voluntary works. Voluntary works be called all manner of offering in the Church, except your four offering-days and your tithes. Setting up candles, gilding and painting, building of churches, giving of ornaments, going on pilgrimages, *making of highways*, and such other, be called voluntary works ; which works be of themselves marvellous good and convenient to be done.”²

In this passage from Latimer, the word “oblations” is used in a wide sense, and in that wide sense it included “alms-deeds.”

¹ This order is repeated in Elizabeth's *Injunctions* (1559). See Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i. 190.

² *Sermons* (Parker Society), pp. 17, 23.

But the passage from Hooker shows how it was also used more particularly with reference to offerings made towards the maintenance of the clergy.¹

It is desirable here to call attention to the fact that the chest, or coffer, figured much in the Lutheran Church Orders. We know that some of these Church Orders had great influence on the work of the English Reformers. In the *Pia Deliberatio* of Archbishop Hermann (fol. lxi. *verso*) we find a reference to the chest, and the employment of the two words under one consideration. "*Elemosynæ et oblationes*," says Hermann, "in commune Ecclesiæ gazophilatium conferendæ."

It has already been pointed out that in all the editions of the English Prayer-Book up to 1662 there stood, immediately after the rubric respecting the offering or gathering of the devotion of the people at the Holy Communion, a rubric enjoining that upon "the offering-days appointed every man and woman shall pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings." But while this rubric was omitted in the Prayer-Book of 1662, the offertory sentences referring to the maintenance of the clergy were retained ;

¹ The frequent association together of the two terms "alms" and "oblations" must have been inevitable for men familiar with their Latin Bible. See *Acts* xxiv. 17, "*Eleemosynas facturus in gentem meam veni et oblationes*," etc.

and for the first time in 1662 we have in this place the *express* mention of "alms for the poor *and other devotions* of the people." This change suggests the thought that the revisers of the Prayer-Book in 1661, while no longer seeming to enforce the practice of the payment of "dues" on offering-days (which, it would seem, had fallen into desuetude), kept in view the possibility of the collection at the offertory being made use of, in more or less degree, for the support of the clergy. The "other devotions" of the rubric and the "oblations" of the following prayer would cover and include the application of money collected, as well as other applications to pious uses.

Again, it is worth observing that up to 1662 there existed a rubric before the offertory which specially emphasised that the destination of the money about to be collected was for the poor. From 1552 (inclusive) onwards to 1662 we find the rubric "After such Sermon, Homily, or Exhortation the Curate shall declare unto the people whether there be any holy days or fasting days the week following, *and earnestly exhort them to remember the poor, saying one or more of these sentences following*, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion." Now with this rubric before them, the Puritan divines at the time of

the Savoy Conference very pertinently and justly raised the "exception," "four of them" (*i.e.* of the following Scripture sentences) are "more proper to draw out the people's bounty to their ministers than their charity to the poor."¹ The answer of the Bishops to the exception of the Ministers runs simply, "The sentences tend all to exhort the people to pious liberality, whether the object be the minister or the poor."² But the attention of the Bishops had been called to the matter, and we find the rubric about "earnestly exhorting the people to remember the poor" struck out. And thus one particular destination of the offertory was no longer specially emphasised. But the revisers of 1662 did more than this: they for the *first* time wrote in the offertory rubric that the persons appointed to collect should "receive the alms for the poor *and other devotions* of the people." And yet further, they added at the close of the service the rubric "After the Divine Service ended, the money given at the offertory shall be disposed of to such pious *and* charitable uses as the Minister and Church-wardens shall think fit."

And now we feel we are approaching the

¹ Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, etc., p. 318, 2nd Edit.

² Cardwell, *ut sup.*, p. 353.

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answers to the questions with which we commenced this section of our subject. The attention of the Bishops had been drawn to a certain inconsistency between the formerly existing rubric directing an earnest exhortation to give to the poor and four of the sentences which referred to the support of the ministry. They defended the use of these four offertory sentences, but they deleted the rubric which suggested the "exception" raised by the Puritan divines.

The distinction between alms and other offerings collected from the people was pressed upon them. What more natural then than that they should add to the word *alms*, in the prayer for their acceptance, the wider term *oblations*, with reference to offerings for "pious uses," as the former word had reference to "charitable uses"?

Once again, it should be remembered that in the Prayer-Book of 1662, in which the word "oblations" occurs for the first time in the prayer, we also find for the first time a ritual and ceremonial presentation at the Holy Table of the money collected. Up to that time the practice had been first (from 1549 to 1552), while the clerks were singing the Offertory those who were disposed offered "unto the poor men's box, every one according to

his ability and charitable mind," and afterwards (from 1552 to 1662), instead of the members of the congregation each going up and making his offering, "the Churchwardens or some other by them appointed" gathered "the devotion of the people and put the same into the poor men's box." In 1662 it was sought in a ceremonial way to bring out the truth that the devotions of the people were really offerings to God. The word "oblations" would indeed have been appropriate if it had occurred in the earlier Prayer-Books; but the thoughts of those who brought the book to its present shape were now more directly turned to this aspect of the truth. And this may have possibly contributed to the feeling which introduced the word "oblations" into the prayer.

III. Hitherto I have been dealing mainly with the texts and rubrics of successive editions of the Book of Common Prayer, and with the history of the last revision. I would now go on to notice illustrations of our subject from other sources, chiefly belonging to the seventeenth century.

At the time of the negotiations about the projected marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain, Wren was appointed to go to Madrid as one of the Prince's chaplains.

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Whether the regulations for the services at Madrid were drawn up by Wren does not appear. Among the regulations we find, "That the Communion be celebrated in due form with *an oblation* of every communicant."¹

In 1635 Bishop Field, acting under a commission from Bishop Wren, consecrated the Parish Church of Abbey Dore in Herefordshire. The service for the consecration is preserved in manuscript in the British Museum, and was printed by Mr Fuller Russell in 1874. This has been referred to both by Dean Howson and Canon Simmons, and the latter, with a candour which may be expected from, but is not always found in, controversial writers, adduces from it a passage which makes very distinctly for the interpretation of the word "oblations" for which we have been contending. It confirms me in a supposition to which I have been led that (however unreasonable it may appear) there was some feeling of dislike to using the word "oblation" in connection with the bread and wine, even when they were said to be "offered," although the noun-substantive is derived directly from the participial form of the verb. Canon Simmons thus describes the part of the service with which we are concerned: "At the offertory, after

¹ *State Papers*, Spain, March 10, 1623.

the sentence ‘Let your light so shine,’ etc., the bishop ‘offers and lays upon the table first his act of consecration.’ He likewise ‘layeth on the table’ certain conveyances in law for the erection and dotation of the church and rectory. ‘Then . . . the bishop offereth [the bread and wine] also.’ ‘The priest treatably proceedeth to read other of the sentences, especially those *that are for the oblations, and not for the alms*, viz., the second [‘Lay not for yourselves,’ etc.], the sixth [‘Who goeth a warfare,’ etc.] . . . etc. All the while the chaplain standeth before the Table, and receiveth the *oblations* of all that offer.” It would perhaps be impossible to find anything more pertinent to the discussion before us. It uses the word “oblations” in the restricted sense of money-offerings which were not “alms,” although the word “offer” had been used of the presentation of the document containing the deed of consecration of the church and also of the bread and wine. In the following prayer the word “oblations” alone (without “alms”) was used.

Some ten years earlier the same Bishop Field had taken part in a still more elaborate and ceremonious function, the coronation of King Charles I. at Westminster (February 2, 1626). The service for the Coronation has

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been recently printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society, under the editorship of Canon C. Wordsworth. Early in the service "the king maketh his first oblation," consisting of a pall and a pound of gold. After the Nicene Creed the king "offers" bread and wine for the Communion, and after that comes, what in Sancroft's interlineation is called "the second oblation," consisting of "a mark [*i.e.* eight ounces Troy] of gold," "offered by the king."¹

To understand the next quotation, which is from Bishop Andrewes, it is necessary to remember the form of the rubric upon which Andrewes commented. It ran as follows: "Then shall the Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor men's box, and upon the offering-days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to

¹ All these features appear in the service as used at the coronation of Queen Victoria. Her "first oblation" was a "Pall or Altar-Cloth of Gold . . . and an Ingot or Wedge of Gold of a pound weight." At the proper time she "offers Bread and Wine for the Communion." Then, after a prayer said by the Archbishop, the Queen makes her "second [not her third] Oblation," viz., "a Purse of Gold. . . . And the Archbishop coming to her receives it into the Bason and places it upon the Altar." A special prayer for the acceptance of "these oblations" follows. See Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia* (2nd edit.), ii. pp. 94 and 137.

the Curate the due and accustomed offerings.” Andrewes remarks: “They should not pay it to the Curate alone, but to God upon the altar.”¹ This points to Andrewes’ sense of the lack of a solemn and ritual presentation before God of the oblations made on the offering-days, which sentiment found expression as regards both alms and other offerings in the amended rubric of 1662.

It was, I take it, with a feeling for the distinction between alms and other money offerings that Andrewes, in his own practice, adopted what would seem to us nowadays a rather strange ceremony. Bishop Buckeridge, in the sermon preached at the funeral of Andrewes, says: “He [Andrewes] kept monthly communions inviolably . . . In which his carriage was not only decent and religious, but also exemplary; *he ever offered twice* at the Altar, and so did every one of his servants, to which purpose he gave them money lest it should be burdensome to them.”² And by a piece of singular good fortune Prynne has preserved, in his *Canterburie’s Doome*, Andrewes’ inventory of the furniture, plate, etc., of his chapel, which

¹ *Minor Works*, p. 155.

² Printed in *Andrewes’ Sermons*, v. p. 296 (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology).

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records the existence of two basins, one for "alms," and another for "offerings."¹

A passage anticipating the practice of receiving the offerings of the people in a bason, as enjoined in 1662, will be found in the Form of Consecration of Jesus Chapel at Southampton used by Andrewes on September 17, 1620. And it may first be recorded that among other prayers offered up by the Bishop, *flexis genibus ante sacram mensam*, "for all Thy servants who shall come into this Thy holy temple," we find the following, "When they offer, that their *oblation and alms* may come up as a memorial before Thee, and they find and feel that with such sacrifices Thou art well pleased." The allusions to Acts x. 4 and Heb. xiii. 16 show what was in the mind of Andrewes when he spoke of *oblation and alms*. Later on we find the rubric directing as follows: "populus universus non communicaturus dimittitur, et porta clauditur. Prior

¹ "Plate for the Chappell—

Two Candlesticks gilt

for tapers . . . 60 ounces, at 5s. 6d. the ounce.

A round Bason for

Offerings, gilt and

chased . . . 31½ " 6s. 8d. "

A round Bason for

Almes, gilt and

chased . . . 30 " 6s. od. "

Canterburie's Dooms (1646), p. 124.

sacellanus pergit legendo sententias illas hortatorias ad eleemosynas, interea dum alter sacellanus singulos communicaturos adit, atque in patinam argenteam oblationes colligit; collecta est summa £4, 12s. 2d., quam dominus episcopus convertendam in calicem huic capellæ donandum decernit.”¹

In 1641 the House of Lords appointed a *Committee of Religion* “touching innovations in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; together with considerations upon the Book of Common Prayer.” Among the results of the proceedings of this committee we find noted “among innovations in discipline”: “By introducing an offertory before the communion, distinct from the giving of alms to the poor.”²

At the trial of Laud there was cited against him from the volume entitled *Select Statutes of the University of Oxford*, 1638 (p. 79), an ordinance as to the ceremonies to be observed “in die Comitiorum,” where it is directed that at St. Mary’s “primum Vice-Cancellarius, postea singuli Inceptores in Facultatibus, deinde Procuratores, Bedellis præeuntibus, ad Mensam Eucharistiæ sacram cum debita reverentia, *oblationes faciant*.”³ The passage

¹ Andrewes’ *Pattern of Catech. Doctrine*, etc. (Lib. Anglo-Cath. Theol.), pp. 317, 326.

² See Cardwell’s *Conferences*, etc., p. 273.

³ Prynne’s *Canterburie’s Doome*, p. 72.

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is cited here only to illustrate the use of the word "oblations," and the practice, apparently, of the oblations being presented at the holy table.

Matthew Wren, bishop, successively, of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely, was regarded as one of the liturgical experts of the Anglican Church in the seventeenth century. He was early in life chaplain to Bishop Andrewes. And it will be remembered that the *Book of Common Prayer for the use of the Church of Scotland* (1637) had the advantage of his criticism before its issue. After some eighteen or nineteen years' imprisonment in the Tower, he resumed his place among the Bishops at the Restoration. Though his name does not appear among the bishops who sat at the Savoy Conference, he was one of the eight appointed, November 21, 1661, as a Committee of the Upper House of Convocation for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. Now in the directions given by Wren on the occasion of his Primary Visitation of Norwich in 1636 we find, "That the holy oblations, in such places where it pleaseth God at any time to put it into the hearts of his people by that holy action to acknowledge his gift of all they have to them, and their tenure of all from, and their debt of all to, him,

be received by the minister standing before the table at their coming up to make the said oblation, and there by him to be reverently presented before the Lord and set upon the table till the service be ended."¹ It does not appear whether this was distinct from the presentation of the alms or not. Attention is drawn simply to the use of the word *oblation* as applied to what is evidently an offering in money, and to the *oblation* being reverently presented and set on the table.

The late Bishop Jacobson, of Chester, did good service to the historical study of the Prayer-Book by publishing, in 1874, his volume entitled *Fragmentary Illustrations of the History of the Book of Common Prayer from manuscript sources*. In this volume may be seen some notes upon the Prayer-Book written by Wren with a view to its revision. These notes, as we can infer from his introductory remarks, were written about 1660 or 1661. The notes are throughout full of interest to the student; but I am now concerned only with those relating to the subject in hand. Wren suggests that after "the Banns for Matrimony" have been published, the minister shall "signify the contents of such

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 526; Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, ii. 205.

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Briefs as are brought to the Parish, for Collections." The proposed rubric then proceeds, "And then he shall say, Hear now the Monitions of the Holy Ghost, as it is written, naming the Chapter and Verse whence it is taken, and reading one or more, as he shall think meet in his discretion." Wren then groups the offertory sentences into three classes; the first seven suited "in general for all kind of Charitable Gifts." "The seven next," he says (and to this special attention is invited), "tend particularly to that which they called *Prosphora* in the Primitive Church, that is a freewill Offering unto God," and the six last especially "for the *Eleemosyna*, that is, our Alms Deeds to the Poor." First, it will be noted that there is no hint of the large interpretation which some would give to the word *alms* as it occurs in the Prayer-Book, viz., as a word that might include the gifts for pious uses and the support of the clergy. Secondly, let us see what Wren had in mind when he wrote the liturgical word *Prosphora*. This we can gather from the sentences which he appropriates thereto. The first is "Lay not for yourselves treasures upon earth," etc.; the second is "Charge them that are rich," etc.; the third is "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you," etc.; the fourth is "Do ye

not know that they which minister about holy things,” etc. ; the fifth is “ While we have time let us do good unto all men,” etc. ; the sixth is “ Blessed be the man that provideth for the sick and needy,” etc. [the word “sick,” as I should suppose, suggesting to Wren that this sentence belongs rather to *Prospora* than to the *Eleemosyna*]; and the seventh is “ Be merciful after thy power,” etc.

But Wren had also in view *Prospora* designed for the support of the clergy. Among the Scripture sentences which he tells us “tend particularly to that which they called *Prospora* in the Primitive Church” appears the sentence “ Do ye not know that they which minister,” etc. (1 Cor. ix. 13). Why Wren chose to use the word *Prospora* rather than oblations is matter for conjecture. I suspect it may have been because the word “oblations” had been in former times so emphatically used for “dues,” or moneys recoverable at law. But, however this may be, it is plain that his language lends no countenance to the notion that the word “alms” was in his day regarded as properly applicable to money given for the support of the clergy. The main point, however, to which I would direct attention is that Wren, like other divines of that period, had

prominently in view the giving of *Prosphora* as distinct from *Alms*.

We now proceed to consider the view of another liturgical authority of that day. Eminent as were Andrewes and Wren in this department of research, Cosin's active influence on the last revision makes his way of regarding this matter more especially valuable. In the second series of his Notes,¹ commenting on "the offering-days" he writes, "Which order is in some places among us still observed. And the king or queen in their chapel-royal (or wherever they be at church on those days) never omit it, but arise from their seats, and go in solemn manner to present their offerings upon their knees at God's altar. And then is read by the priest or bishop attending this sentence here prescribed, 1 Cor. ix., 'They which minister about holy things,' " etc.

Now it is to Cosin's notes, as corrected by him in the hand of Sancroft, his chaplain, that the Prayer-Book of 1662 owes the words "the alms and *other devotions of the people*."² And after what has been shown as to Cosin's view of the importance of a ritual presentation of money-offerings other than alms for the poor, a presumption is raised that he understood

¹ *Works*, vol. v. p. 324 (Lib. Anglo-Cath. Theol.).

² See Parker's *Introduction*, etc., p. cxviii.

"oblations" (in the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church") in this sense. But we can advance beyond presumptions, for we are so fortunate as to possess a Service used by Cosin at the Consecration of Christ Church, Tynemouth, July 5, 1668, that is six years after the last revision; and this is the more important because Cosin in that Service actually introduced the *offering* of the bread and wine for the Communion which had been rejected at the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer. After the offering of the bread and wine the rubric of Cosin's Consecration Service directs the Bishop to offer "his own *alms and oblations*." "¶ Then one of the priests shall receive the *alms and oblations*." Here the phrase "alms and oblations," twice used, signifies, beyond all question, something distinct from the bread and wine.¹ Can it be contended with any show of reason that the very same phrase used immediately afterwards in the prayer refers to something different and wider, to

¹ The Consecration Service here referred to will be found in *The Correspondence of Bishop Cosin* (part ii.), edited for the Surtees Society by Rev. George Ormsby. Canon Simmons suggests that this Consecration Service was very probably that "which the bishop was commanded to draw up by the unanimous vote of the united Upper Houses of Convocation on March 22, 166½": see the Acts and Proceedings of Convocation as printed in Cardwell's *Synodalia*, vol. ii. p. 668.

something that includes also the bread and wine? To my mind this Consecration Service of Cosin goes to support the view that, even if Cosin had succeeded, where we know he failed, in introducing the word "offer" (in 1661) as applied to the bread and wine, it would still, from the historical view-point, be insufficiently established that the phrase "alms and oblations" in the prayer was *intended* to include the bread and wine.

Anthony Sparrow is said to have first published his well-known *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer* in 1643. Two editions, at any rate, were published before the issue of our present Prayer-Book.¹ And the editions of the work that appeared during his lifetime, subsequent to 1662, were not throughout brought up to date. We find in the later editions of the book no notice of the insertion of the word "oblations" in the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church"; but we have some remarks that illustrate how he was accustomed to understand the word "oblations" in connection with the offertory. Some importance attaches to his testimony, as he was appointed one of the episcopal "coadjutors" at the Savoy Conference.

¹ Allibone records the dates 1643, '55, '57, '61: but of the editions of 1643 and 1655 no copy appears to be known.

Sparrow, in his commentary on the offertory, speaks at length on the Christian duty of making oblations. "Offerings or oblations are a high part of God's service and worship taught by the light of nature and right reason, which bids us to 'honour God with our substance.'" "Our Saviour hath carefully taught us there [in the Gospel, Matt. v. 23, 24] the due manner of the performance of this duty of oblations, like as He did concerning alms and prayers." He reminds his readers how the gospel commended the offering of "gold, frankincense, and myrrh" by the wise men. He tells them that "though oblations be acceptable at any time, yet at some times they have been thought more necessary, as (1) When the Church is in want, Exod. xxxv. 4, etc. ["whosoever is of a willing heart, let him bring it, an offering, gold, and silver, and brass, and blue, and purple, and scarlet," etc.]; (2) when we have received some signal and eminent blessing from God, Psalm lxxvi. . . .; (3) at our high and solemn festival, 'three times in the year shall they appear before Me, and they shall not appear empty,' especially when we receive the Holy Communion."

A pertinent illustration of how "alms" and "oblations" were distinguished by writers of the Church of England, not long before the

last revision of the Prayer-Book, will be found in Henry Hammond's *View of the New Directory and Vindication of the Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, which appeared first in 1645. Having dwelt at some length on the origin of the offertory, Hammond proceeds, "Now that this offering of Christians to God for pious and charitable uses¹ designed to them who are His proxies and deputy-receivers, may be the more liberally and withal more solemnly performed, many portions of Scripture are by the Liturgy designed to be read, to stir up and quicken this bounty, and those of three sorts, some belonging to *good works in general*, others to *alms-deeds*, others to *oblations*; and when it is received and brought to the priest he humbly prays God to accept those *alms*."² It will be remembered that at the date of Hammond's writings "alms" alone stood in the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church": and it is easy to understand that it would be felt by those who drew these distinctions a gain if some more general word or words were added to "alms" in the prayer.

A little later than Hammond's *View of the New Directory*, etc., we have Hamon L'Estrange commenting on the sentence "Who

¹ Observe the distinction.

² *Works* (edit. 1674), vol. i. part ii. p. 154.

goeth a warfare,” etc., in the following way. “This with the four succeeding sentences, 7, 8, 9, 10, have a peculiar reference to the ministry; by which plain it is that our Church intended a double offering—one *eleemosynary*, *alms* for the poor—another *oblatory*, for the maintenance of the clergy.”¹ L’Estrange regarded the bread and wine as “oblations,” yet it is plain, after reading the passage cited above, that it would be hazardous to suppose that his opinion in this respect countenanced the notion that in the phrase “alms and oblations” we have a reference to anything else than the two parts of the “double offering” of which he speaks. A few lines after the passage quoted L’Estrange writes, “In the earliest times such spontaneous *oblations* were the only income of the Church, with no other alimony did the ministry subsist. . . . And though Christian princes restored, in after time, to God his own, and endowed the Church with tithes, yet did not these *oblations* cease thereupon.”

We must content ourselves with only one other testimony from the writers immediately preceding the Prayer-Book Revision of

¹ *The Alliance of Divine Offices* (Lib. Anglo-Cath. Theol.), p. 274. The first edition of *The Alliance* was published in 1659.

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1661. But that testimony is weighty. As is well known, when the use of the Book of Common Prayer came to be forcibly proscribed during the Great Rebellion, various attempts were made by Churchmen to supply its place, as best they could, with forms that were not included under the terms of the proscription. Among these attempts perhaps the most interesting is Jeremy Taylor's *Collection of Offices, or Forms of Prayer, in cases ordinary and extraordinary*, etc. (1658). Now in his *Office or Order for the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, contained in this volume, there is a rubric directing "a collection for the poor . . . while the minister reads some of these sentences or makes an exhortation to *charity and almes*." At that particular juncture of affairs the clergy of the Church of England might well be spoken of as "the poor"; but, at any rate, we find among the appointed sentences, "Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth," etc. Then comes the rubrical direction, after the minister hath "received it from the hand of him that gathered it, let him in a humble manner present it to God, laying it on the Communion Table, secretly and devoutly saying 'Lord, accept the *oblation and almes* of thy people,'" etc. It should be added that

there is no mention of any previous presentation of the elements. Here then, some three or four years previous to the last revision of the Prayer-Book, we find in effect an almost exact anticipation of both the ceremonial presentation of the money offerings and also of the language of the following prayer.¹

From the passages cited from the English divines prior to the last revision of the Prayer-Book, it would appear that the word "oblations," when used in connection with "alms," refers to money offerings destined (as distinct from "alms," or money for the relief of the poor) for pious uses of any kind, and, perhaps, more particularly for the maintenance of the clergy.

IV. Something may, in conclusion, be said of the sense in which the word "oblations" in the prayer was understood subsequently to the last revision. We have already noticed (see p. 209) how Cosin used the word in 1668, in the Consecration Service for Christ Church, Tynemouth. Of not less importance are Archbishop Sancroft's Visitation Articles of the year 1686. Among the queries we find—

"When the Holy Communion is adminis-

¹ The *Collection of Offices* will be found in Taylor's *Works* (Eden's edit.), vol. viii. 571 ff.

tered amongst you, are the alms and oblations of devout persons duly collected and received?

"Are they constantly disposed of to pious and charitable uses by the consent of the ministers and churchwardens, or, if they disagree, by the appointment of the Ordinary?"¹

It should be remembered that Sancroft had acted as clerk to Convocation during the proceedings which concerned the last revision of the Prayer-Book, and there could have been few who were in a better position to know how the phrase "alms and oblations" was to be understood.

A few words must be said as to what may be gathered from the French, Greek, and Latin translations of the Prayer-Book in the reign of Charles II.

It would be easy to attach too much weight to the testimony of Durel's translation of the Book of Common Prayer of 1662 into French. Charles II. had ordered (Oct. 6, 1662) that when printed, and approved by one of the chaplains of the Bishop of London, it should be exclusively used in the parish churches of Jersey and Guernsey and in the French congregation of the Savoy, etc. Dr George

¹ Appendix to the second report of the Royal Commission on Ritual, p. 624.

Stradling, chaplain to the Bishop of London, certified (April 6, 1663) that Durel's version was in accordance throughout with the English original; yet, as a matter of fact, an examination of the contents of the book shows that Dr Stradling's certificate was not justified. The version is inaccurate and faulty in many places. It serves, however, to show that Durel, and presumably Stradling, did not understand by the word "oblations" the offering of the bread and wine.¹ The words of the prayer are rendered, "Nous te supplions bien-humblement qu'il te plaise [**accepter nos aumosnes et nos oblations et*] recevoir nos Prieres," etc. And the marginal note ran, "** Ceci sera omis lors qu'il n'y aura point d'aumosne.*" Durel seems to have failed, at this time (though he afterwards in his Latin version corrected himself), to draw any distinction between "alms" and "oblations." When there were no "alms" the words of receiving "our alms and oblations" were to be omitted.

Duport's Greek version (1665), published at Cambridge by the University printer, John Field, and dedicated to the Archbishop of

¹ Stradling had subscribed the MS. copy of the Book of Common Prayer attached to the Act of Uniformity in his capacity as Proctor in Convocation of the clergy of the diocese of Llandaff.

Canterbury, is equally faulty here, but shows that while the translator made no distinction between "alms" and "oblations," he did not understand the latter word to refer to the bread and wine. Ταπεινοφρόνως ἀντιβολουμένι σι [*τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ προσφορὰς ἡμῶν] καὶ ταύτας τὰς προσευχὰς κ.τ.λ., with the marginal note, *Ἐὰν οὐδεμία ἐλεημοσύνη ποιηθῇ, χρὴ παραλείπειν ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα (τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ προσφορὰς ἡμῶν).

The French translation of Durel was plainly a hurried piece of work. Much superior is the Latin version which appeared under his name in 1670, and which probably incorporates some of the work of Earle, Pearson, and Dolben. The rubric immediately after the sentences for the offertory shows us how he understood the words in question. It runs thus: "Dum ista recitantur, Diaconi, Æditui, aliive ad hoc idonei, quibus illud muneris demandatum est, Eleemosynam in pauperum usus erogatam colligent, ut et alias populi oblationes in pios usus, in Amulâ seu lance idoneâ," etc.: while in the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church" we have, both in the body of the prayer and in the marginal note, "eleemosynas atque oblationes nostras." It is quite evident that the translator, or translators, of this part of the Prayer-Book regarded the "oblations" of the prayer as meaning the same thing as

the "other devotions of the people" in the rubric.¹

Thomas Comber's *Companion to the Temple* was, I think, the first systematic commentary on the Prayer-Book written after the last revision.² The following passage may be cited from his *Paraphrase of the Prayer for the whole Church*:

"~~We~~ **humbly** disclaiming our own merits ~~beseech thee~~ for Jesus' sake and by the Virtue of his Passion here set forth **most mercifully** to accept this poor acknowledgment of thy bounty, and testimony of our love in these our **Alms to the Poor and Oblations to thy Ministers**, intreating thee also," etc. In the margin Comber, referring to the words in italics, has the note, "This to be omitted when there is no collection." And elsewhere, commenting on the sentences at the

¹ Lord Selborne (*Notes on some passages in the Liturgical History of the Reformed English Church*, p. 73) considers that the dedication of this Latin version to the king suggests that it had public authority, and adds, "There seems to be some reason to believe that this may be the Latin translation which was made under the direction of Convocation, as recorded in its Acts of April 26, 1662, and May 18, 1664, because it can hardly be supposed that a version made under such auspices would have been entirely suppressed, and the work of a private translator preferred." But I do not claim official authority for the book.

² The third part of this work, dealing with the Communion Office, appeared in 1675.

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offertory, he tells us that St Cyprian and the ancient canons show that "the clergy were chiefly maintained out of the oblations made at the Communion." From these passages it is plain how Dean Comber understood the word "oblations."

Patrick, on the other hand, as we have seen (p. 178), understood "oblations" to signify the elements. But a passage in his popular work the *Christian Sacrifice* (which appeared after *Mensa Mystica*) makes it plain that he had come to this view rather as inference of his own than from any knowledge of the intentions of those who in 1661 inserted the word "oblations" in the prayer. "These ["alms" and "oblations"] are things distinct; and the former (alms) signifying that which was given for the relief of the poor, the latter (oblations) can signify nothing else but (according to the style of the ancient church) this bread and wine presented to God in a thankful remembrance of our food both dry and liquid (as Justin Martyr speaks), which he, the Creator of the world, hath made and given unto us."¹ Those who have read the quotations cited from our earlier divines are in a position to judge whether the word "oblations" in this connection, "*can signify nothing else.*" Bishop

¹ *The Works of Symon Patrick* (Oxford edit., 1858), i. 377.

Patrick's opinion then is in truth not in any sense an historical testimony as to the commonly accepted meaning of the word when he wrote; and that he expressed himself in this way points probably to the offertory having, as a matter of fact, ceased to be utilised for other objects than the relief of the poor, except in rare instances.¹

In the eighteenth century Patrick's view was adopted by Wheatly in his *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, and the deserved popularity of that useful book gave his interpretation of the word "oblations" a wide currency. Similarly Archdeacon Sharp, in his *Visitation Charge* for 1735, accepts this view, though in a somewhat halting manner, for while he considers that the word "oblations" refers to the bread and wine, he adds, "I apprehend the word *oblations*, inserted in the prayer, may be consistently applied to a portion of the collection in the bason, viz., such share as shall be appropriated to acts of piety."²

Canon Simmons, in his article in the

¹ The view put forward by Patrick was eagerly accepted by the leading Nonjurors and those of their school, such as Hickes (*The Christian Priesthood asserted*, chap. ii. § 10) and John Johnson (*Works*, ii. 386, Lib. Anglo-Cath. Theol.).

² *The Rubric in the Book of Common Prayer*, etc., p. 76 (Oxford edit., 1834).

Churchman for June 1882, also adopts the view of this double application of the term. It may now be left to the reader to judge, not whether the words of the prayer may be privately glossed so as to include a reference to the elements (which is a question quite beyond the scope of the present paper), but whether the language of the Prayer-Book and the historical evidence here adduced show that the intention of the revisers of 1661, in using the phrase "alms and oblations," was to signify (a) "alms and other money offerings for pious uses," or (b) "alms and the bread and wine," or (c) "alms and money for pious uses and also the bread and wine." It will be seen that my own view is in favour of the first of these opinions.¹

¹ I may be permitted to add that a ceremonial offering of the bread and wine seems to me a primitive and edifying rite ; and, as is well known, it is expressly enjoined in the Scottish Communion Office ; but I have concerned myself solely with the historical problem as to what is the true sense of the word "oblations" in the English Book of Common Prayer. The examination of the question in the "dry light" of facts has not been common ; but it is a satisfaction to me to find that the view I have maintained is that which has been arrived at by such careful and cold-blooded historical students as Dr Cardwell (*History of Conferences*, 2nd edit., p. 382), Mr F. Procter (*History of the Book of Common Prayer*, 18th edit., p. 369), and Canon James Craigie Robertson (*How shall we conform to the Liturgy ?* 2nd edit., pp. 204-209). In Mr Frere's edition of Procter (*A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, 1901), the author makes reference to the present article, as it

V

THE MIXED CHALICE

The abolition in the Prayer-Book of 1552 of the direction for the addition of "a little clean and pure water" to the chalice must be regretted by every student of primitive antiquity, for nothing is more certain than the mixed cup is a feature which can claim very early authority. The well-known passages in Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and the *Didache* leave us in no doubt. And there is some reason for believing that the cup, as used by our Lord at the institution of the Sacrament, was a cup of wine with which water had been mingled.

As early as 1523, Luther, in his *Formula Missæ et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenburgensi*, says that he had not yet satisfied himself on the question whether water should be mingled with the wine, although he inclined to the opinion that wine alone was to be preferred. The reasons he gives are, first,

appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, and says, "The interpretation of the additional word [oblations] is somewhat doubtful, but it seems legitimate to refer it either to the elements, just set upon the altar, or else, from a more strictly antiquarian point of view, to the dues and offerings paid by the people to the clergy" (p. 482). This is rather a lame conclusion.

in Isaiah (i. 22) the words, "thy wine is mixed with water," are spoken of a corrupt state of things, while pure wine sets forth well the purity of the doctrine of the Gospel; and, secondly, it was the unmixed blood of Christ which was shed for our redemption. He mocks at the dream of those who contend that by the mixture is set forth our union with Christ. But he would not lay down a law contrary to liberty. The matter is not worth contending about, he declares. The argument that both water and blood flowed from the side of Christ proves nothing. That water was not mingled with the blood, and it symbolised something quite different from what is here contended for. "Wherefore let the matter be freely dealt with as an invention of man."¹

Luther's influence probably caused the mixed chalice to disappear in, at least, most of the German Church Orders.

It is interesting to find the leading High Church divine of the early part of the seventeenth century, the learned Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, using language singularly like that of Luther. "We hold it," he says, "a matter not worth the standing on: so all else were agreed, we would not stick with them to

¹ Richter, *E. K.* i. 4.

put as much water in as the priests use to do.”¹

As is well known, in the Roman Church the addition of a little water to the wine is not regarded as of necessity to the Sacrament, nor of divine precept, but only of ecclesiastical rule.

VI

THE TIME FOR THE DEPARTURE FROM THE QUIRE OF THE CHURCH OF NON-COMMUNICANTS (1549): AND THE SEPARATION OF THE MEN AND WOMEN

The time prescribed for the departure of non-communicants from the quire in the Prayer-Book of 1549 is *immediately after the offertory*. “Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and clerks.” With this compare Hermann (*Simplex ac pia Deliberatio*, fol. xcv. verso), “Ii tamen qui ad Communionem fuerint admissi, *statim facta oblatione* [mean-

¹ Answer to Cardinal Perron's Reply, in *Minor Works*, p. 25.

ing the money offerings] *convenire debent in eum locum, qui ipsis designatus fuerit, juxta altare. . . . In eo itaque loco, qui ad communionem mensæ Domini admissi fuerint, consistent, suo loco viri, suo item mulieres.*"

Some of the German Church Orders direct that the men should be on the right side and the women on the left. The Prayer-Book of 1549, like Hermann, is content that each sex shall be assigned a distinct place.

The language of Hermann's German original is more like the English than is the Latin quoted above. It runs: "Unnd sollen sich die Man auff *einn seiten*, und die Frauen auff *die andere seiten* stellen" (*Einfaltigs Bedencken*, fol. cviii. *verso*).

It is difficult to say how far the very ancient practice of the separation of males and females in the public services of the Church was observed in the mediæval Church in England. But there is no doubt that the practice was common, if it was not universal. For the evidence for the continuance of the practice in various places in England since the Reformation, see *Hierurgia Anglicana* (V. Staley's Edit.), part ii. 60-63.

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VII

REDUCTION OF THE NUMBER OF PROPER PREFACES

It was a feature of the Prayer-Book of 1549, and it still marks our Prayer-Book, that the Proper Prefaces are only five in number, namely, for Christmas, Easter, the Ascension, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday.

In the pre-Reformation missals of England there were, in addition to the above days and their octaves (excepting Trinity Sunday), Proper Prefaces for the Epiphany and seven days after; Ash Wednesday and ferial days in Lent; Feasts of Apostles and Evangelists, and during the octaves of SS. Peter and Paul, and St Andrew (St John the Evangelist, as being in the octave of Christmas, excepted), the Conception, Annunciation, Assumption, Nativity, Visitation, and Veneration¹ of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and during the octaves of the Assumption and Nativity. The Christmas Preface was said in its octave, and on the Purification, and on the Feast of Corpus Christi, and in the octave of that festival. The Easter Preface was said during the octave, and on all Sundays down to the Ascension.

¹ The Proper Preface beginning "Et te in veneratione beatæ," etc., was said at most "Mary Masses."

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The Preface for the Ascension was said during the octave; and the same is true of the Whitsunday Preface. The Trinity Sunday Preface was said on all Sundays till Advent.¹

This somewhat elaborate system was suddenly reduced, as we have seen, in 1549. And it is an interesting fact, which some persons may be surprised at, that it was in the second Prayer-Book (1552) the words "and seven days after" were added to the rubrics before the Prefaces for Christmas, Easter, and the Ascension, and "six days after" to the rubric before the Preface for Whitsunday. It was at this time too that the word "only" was appended to the rubric before the Trinity Sunday Preface. One cannot but suspect that the omission of these directions from the First Prayer-Book was only *per incuriam*.

The action taken by our Reformers in 1549 had been in a manner anticipated in some of the German Church Orders. Thus, in the Saxon Order (1539) we find a reduction in the number of Proper Prefaces very nearly the same as in our Prayer-Book of 1549. The Proper Prefaces appointed were for Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension,

¹ The above only roughly sketches the Sarum order; for the minor details the reader must consult the Sarum Missal.

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Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday.¹ The Saxon Order, it will be remembered, was largely the work of Justus Jonas, senior, the intimate friend of Cranmer. The continuance of a Preface for the Epiphany in the German form is the only difference.

Is the close resemblance between the Saxon Order and our Prayer-Book purely accidental? And is the resemblance an example of independent collateral movements in Germany and England?

The omission of the Proper Preface for the Epiphany from the Prayer-Book of 1549 is difficult to account for. The beautiful Sarum Preface for that Feast contained nothing to which our Reformers could have objected on doctrinal grounds. It ran, "*Quia cum Unigenitus tuus in substantia nostræ carnis apparuit, in novam nos immortalitatis suæ lucem reparavit. Et ideo cum angelis,*" etc. And in any case the English Reformers did not scruple (not always to our advantage) to depart at times from the line of thought suggested by the old Prefaces, for example, the Preface for the Nativity of our Lord, and the Preface for Whitsunday. It would have been an easy task to construct a suitable new Preface for the Epiphany.

¹ Richter, i. 315.

VIII

"INTO THEIR HANDS"

All clergymen are familiar with the practice (which of late years has become almost universal, or, at all events, very general) of those who are about to partake of the consecrated Bread at the Holy Communion, placing their right hand upon their left hand and so receiving the Bread. And many little devotional manuals cite the well-known passage from St Cyril of Jerusalem, where he says, "When you draw near do not come with your palms wide open or your fingers apart; but making your left hand a throne for the right, as about to receive a king, and making your palm hollow, receive the Body of Christ, saying, *Amen*." ¹

No one can object to this reverent practice

¹ *Catech. Myst.* v. 21. This interesting testimony to the practice of the church of Jerusalem about the middle of the fourth century can hardly be regarded as an *authoritative* direction for members of the Church of England. At least, the passage proceeds (and this part is less frequently cited), "and when you have with care sanctified your eyes with the touch of the sacred Body, receive." Similarly with regard to the reception of the Blood, the communicant is directed to apply his hands to the moisture of the wine upon his lips, and then to sanctify his eyes, his forehead, and "the rest of the organs of sense" (c. 22). But we are only too familiar with the practice of citing from the Fathers only the snippets which make for one's own notions.

of using both hands as St Cyril directs. But it has been sometimes sought to enlist the rubric of the Prayer-Book to enforce it. The minister is directed after receiving the Communion in both kinds himself to proceed "to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner (if any be present), and after that, to the people also in order, into their hands," and emphasis has been laid upon the plural, "their *hands*."

But a reference to the first and second Prayer-Books of Edward VI. shows the absurdity of this mode of inference. In the first Prayer-Book it is declared that "it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body in their mouths."¹ In the second Prayer-Book, in the rubric before the words of delivery, the minister is directed to deliver the Communion "to the people in their hands." It is plain that, as in the case of the Prayer-Book of 1549 "their mouths" must mean "the mouth of each," it would be hazardous to infer with regard to the rubric of the Prayer-Book of 1552 that "in their hands" must mean the two hands of each. The change in 1662, when "in" became "into," can hardly have more significance than a seeking after

¹ Prayer-Book of 1549, last rubric of Communion Service.

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greater linguistic correctness. We "deliver" anything "to another," or "into another's keeping."

It is a totally different question from that which we have been considering, whether the true interpretation of the rubric excludes the taking of the consecrated Bread with the fingers and thumb, a practice which was very general some years ago. If the distinction pointed at in the rubric is the *hand* as distinguished from the *mouth*, it seems unreasonable to attempt to read into the rubric an implied distinction between the "hand" and the "fingers." The fingers are as much part of the hand as is the palm. And, as there are those to whom ancient precedent counts for much, we can refer to the case of that very holy lady, Sylvia, sister of Flavius Rufinus, who was consul in A.D. 392, and prefect of the East under Theodosius. "She rebuked a deacon for indulging in the luxury of washing, and said she was now in her sixtieth year, and none of her limbs had touched water, save the tips of her fingers, and that for the sake of communion."¹ Some may be tempted to say, "She may have been

¹ Dr A. J. Maclean (now Bishop of Moray): *Recent Discoveries illustrating Early Christian Life and Worship*, p. 36.

very devout, but she was certainly very dirty in her habits."

I have told the story as it is commonly told, and as it is known to the general reader from the pages of Gibbon.¹ I think the commentators are probably correct in assigning the reason why the tops of the hands were washed. To receive the sacrament with unwashed hands excited in more than one place the indignant remonstrance of St Chrysostom. But it is right to observe that in the primary authority for this anecdote—the *Lausiac History*, of Palladius—the lady, Silvania (for that is the form in which her name appears), does not give any reason for having washed the tops of her hands.²

In my opinion the practice of receiving in the palm and the practice of receiving in the fingers comply equally with the terms of the rubric. Other considerations may be urged as to which course is preferable, but with matters of that kind I am not concerned here.

On the other hand, there have been some who have urged that the word "Take" (in the words of delivery, "Take and eat this,"

¹ *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxix. Note 32.

² See Dom Cuthbert Butler's edition of the *Lausiac History* in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, p. 149. The lady was the sister-in-law, not the sister, of Rufinus.

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etc.), implies something more than passively receiving in the palm of the hand. This seems something like straining the sense of the language. I have heard, on credible authority, that a certain well-known bishop who disliked the practice of the communicant presenting his hollowed palm, used to say with emphasis in such cases, "Take," and then pause; and, if his wishes were not complied with, used to repeat again "Take." Here his lordship was exceeding his rights, for his duty, according to the rubric, was "to deliver" the consecrated Bread into the hands of the communicants.¹

IX

ON CERTAIN WORDS IN THE FORMULA USED IN DELIVERING THE SACRAMENT TO COM- MUNICANTS

So far as I know (and I have hunted through Martène) the words, "which was given for thee," formed no part of the

¹ It is strange to find such a learned and accurate writer as Mr W. E. Scudamore informing us that the rubric directing the delivery of the Communion into the hands appears first in 1662 (*Notitia Eucharistica*, 2nd edit., p. 721). He adds that the words "are not in the Scotch rubric"—which is quite true; and the omission was noticed by the Puritans as favouring the restoration of the practice of placing the Bread in the mouth. Mr Scudamore is not thinking of the change from "in" to "into."

formula of delivering the Sacrament in any of the Western pre-Reformation rites. The words, "which was shed for thee," we could hardly expect after the withdrawal of the chalice became general. Neither are these words to be found in the corresponding formula in any Eastern Liturgy which could possibly have been known to the Reformers.*

As is well known, the Missals of mediæval England indicate no words at all for the communicating of the laity at or after Mass. But at communicating the sick the Sarum and York Manuals gave the following form:—"Corpus Domini Jesu Christi custodiat corpus tuum et animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen."¹ The same form we find in Chichele's Pontifical, to be used when a person confirmed was afterwards communicated. This is obviously the source of the greater part of the formula in the first Prayer-Book.

The question arises, Why were our Reformers not content with the formula in this shape, which they had ready to their hand? Why did they insert, "which was given for thee"? Why in the corresponding form at the delivery of the cup, did they write, "which was shed for thee"?

¹ Maskell, *M. R.* (2nd Edit.), 114; *York Manual*, 52.

Dr Jacobs¹ has pointed to the stress laid on the words, "which was given for thee," "which was shed for thee," by Luther, who in his Little Catechism speaks of them as "principal parts" of the Sacrament. The words appear in the form for delivering the Sacrament in both the Brandenburg-Nuremberg Order (1535) and in Hermann's Order, and these orders were certainly both of them influential, in other respects, on the English Reformers. I think the probability is that Dr Jacobs is justified in thinking that we owe the insertion of the words to German influence.

In Hermann's *Bedencken*² we find the direction that the Preacher should always with the greatest earnestness exhort the people that they should carefully ponder and lay to heart the words, "which was given for you," "which was shed for you and for many for the remission of sins." And when we come to the formula for the delivery of the sacrament³ we find, "Take and eat to thy salvation (*zu deinem heil*) the Body of Christ, which was given for thee"; "Take and drink to thy salvation the Blood of the New Testament, which was shed for thy sins."

It may be added that in Cranmer's *Cate-*

¹ *Lutheran Movement*, 242. ² Fol. xcvi. *verso*. ³ Fol. cx.

chism (1548), following substantially the Latin *Catechism* of Justus Jonas, there is a paragraph enlarging on the significance of the words "given for you," "shed for you."¹

X

"GRANT US THY PEACE" IN THE *AGNUS* (1549);
AND IN THE ENGLISH LITANY

Why "*thy* peace," when in the old English Missals and Breviaries the words were simply, "dona nobis pacem"? One cannot well answer this question with confidence; but we had certainly been anticipated in the Brunswick Order of 1528, where in the *Agnus*, in the service for the Lord's Supper, we find "Giff uns dynen Frede."²

The same form, "Grant us *thy* peace," appears in the English Litany of 1549, as it had also, five years before, in the English Litany of 1544. But in Hermann's German Litany in the *Bedencken* (if I may rely on the edition of 1544, as corresponding to the text of the first edition, of 1543) we have not "*thy* peace," but "Verlehn uns *steten* frid"; and similarly in Luther's German Litany, at the end of his *Geistliche Lieder*, we find "Verleih uns *steten* Fried."

¹ Burton's edit., pp. 208-209.

² Richter, *E. K.* i. 115.

The Litany in Marshall's "Goodly Primer," of 1535, seems beyond doubt to have been affected by Luther's Litany, and there we have in the third clause of the *Agnus*, "Give peace and rest upon us"—an awkward and unsatisfactory form.

Of course one remembers John xiv. 27, "*My* peace I give unto you"; and our English Reformers may have devised their expansion of the Latin independently; but it is, nevertheless, interesting to note the German anticipation in the Brunswick Order. A larger acquaintance than I possess with early Litanies of the German Reformation may possibly show some instance of "thy peace" in the *Agnus* of the Litany, as well as in the *Agnus* of the Mass.

XI

"OURSELVES, OUR SOULS AND BODIES"

This expression, which now occurs in the first of the post-Communion prayers, appeared originally (1549) in the prayer which followed upon the words of Institution, and in which, after declaring that we "celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make," we ask God (1) "to accept this our sacrifice of

praise and thanksgiving," and then go on (2) to "offer and present" to God "ourself [changed to "ourselves," with the place of the prayer, in 1552], our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice" unto God.

One is, of course, reminded of Romans xii. 1, where St Paul beseeches those to whom he wrote to present their *bodies* a lively (living) and holy sacrifice (*hostiam* : Vulgate); and to the same verse we owe the word "reasonable" (*rationabile* : Vulgate), though in St Paul it is applied to the word "service" (*obsequium* : Vulgate).

But the interesting point to which I would direct attention is the introduction of the word "ourselves" and the word "souls" into the prayer. Where did the thought come from?

Mr Scudamore¹ rightly observes that this has no counterpart in the old Canon of the Mass. The idea based upon Romans xii. 1 is often dwelt upon in the Fathers; but the notion of offering our "souls" as well as our "bodies" is a remarkable feature in the English Prayer-Book.

It is interesting to observe (and I am not aware that it has ever been noticed before now) that in Hermann's *Bedencken*, in the pre-

¹ *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 774.

liminary discourse on "the Christian Offering," we find a close parallel. He says, "Through Christ our Lord we should offer up *ourselves*, our body and *soul*."¹ Hermann then goes on to specify our other offerings, a broken spirit, and "praise and thanksgiving," and alms for the poor brethren. He, like the other German Reformers, will allow no other sacrifice or offering in the Mass than these. He notices that the Old Fathers frequently use the words *sacrificium* and *oblatio* in connection with the Mass; and he explains such language by the patristic interpretation that the word "sacrifice" is used because it was "the memorial of the one sacrifice." In all this Archbishop Hermann was in absolute accord with the teaching of Archbishop Cranmer, as fully exhibited in his *Answer* to Bishop Stephen Gardiner.

The idea, however, of the offering of our whole being, soul and body, was too obvious, too inevitable, not to find a place in mediæval thoughts. In an old English MS. in the Bodleian (A. Wood, 17 fol. 10-11), we find, in directions how to hear Mass profitably, the wise counsel, "At the offertory when the prest doith taik the Chalice and holde yt vp

¹ "Uns selb, unsere leib vnnd seel": folio, lxix. *verso*, edit. 1544.

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and formys the Oblation: Have medytatyon how our Lord the Savyour of alle mankynd most wyllfully offerd hym selff to hys Eternalle father to be the sacrifyce and oblacyon for man's Redemptyon; and offer your selff to hym agayn bothe body and soole, which he so dere bowght."¹

XII

"GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN"

In the *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book* (p. 79) it was pointed out that we have here an example of the critical spirit of the English Reformers in dealing with the text of the *Gloria in excelsis*, as it stood in the pre-Reformation Missals, with its "Et in terra pax hominibus," etc. It is certainly not improbable that the Greek text of the New Testament, as it appeared (Luke ii. 14) in the editions of Erasmus, and as adopted in Tyndale's version of the New Testament, and in the Great Bible of 1539, may have determined the wording of our English Prayer-Book. It is, however, to be remarked that our Reformers had been long before anticipated in Germany. Thus in the Order for Zurich in 1529, we find this hymn opening

¹ See Canon Simmons' *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, 233.

thus: "Eer sye Gott in den höhinen. Und Frid vff erden. Den menschen ein recht gmüt."¹

In the great majority of the German Church Orders, as printed by Richter, this hymn is indicated only by the first words (and these most commonly in the form, *Gloria in excelsis*); and, as is well known, it was in several places sung in Latin (which presumably followed the old Latin text) by the choir, while afterwards some "spiritual song"—a metrical hymn—was sung by the people. In some Church Orders the people are directed to sing the *Gloria in excelsis* in German. This was, doubtless, either the metrical hymn, "All Ehr und Lob soll Gottes sein" of Luther's Hymn-Book, or the metrical Hymn written by Nicolaus Decius (1526), which soon came to be everywhere preferred, and which is still a great favourite, the opening line of which is, "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr."² But neither of these hymns is more than a loose paraphrase of the original."³

¹ Richter, i. 137.

² See Albert Fischer's edit. of Bunsen's *Allgemeines evangelisches Gesang und Gebethbuch* (1881), p. 707.

³ It was not till towards the close of the sixteenth century that the use of the Latin *Gloria in excelsis* seems to have given way. Then the practice came to be that the officiating minister intoned the words, "Ehre sey Gott in der Höhe," whereupon the congregation commenced to sing the metrical hymn, "Allein Gott," etc.

In Luther's translation of the New Testament we read, "Peace on earth and to men goodwill (*Wohlgefallen*)," at Luke ii. 14. And the versions in English had made in the same direction: thus, Tyndale (1534), "and peace on earth, and unto men rejoicing"; and in the Great Bible (1539), which came out under Cranmer's special patronage, "Glory to God on high, and peace on the earth, and unto men a good will."

The form "*towards* men" was an attempt to give what was supposed by scholars to be the true sense of the words. And Erasmus in his great work, *In Novum Testamentum Annotationes*, discusses the passage at length, and interprets "in hominibus bona voluntas" as meaning "bona voluntas, benevolus affectus, Dei *erga* homines."¹

Textual critics in our own day have generally given their judgment in favour of the reading of the Greek of Luke ii. 14, which supports the old Latin, "hominibus bonæ voluntatis"; but our Reformers had the best scholarship of their day on their side. Erasmus had pointed out that Chrysostom and Theophylact had read *εὐδοκία*;² and the authority of Erasmus himself on such a question commanded respect and veneration from all lovers of the New Learning.

¹ Edit. 1542, *Basileæ*, pp. 172-74.

² *Ibid.*

XIII

"TABLE PRAYERS"

What came afterwards to be known in popular parlance as "Table Prayers," *i.e.* the saying of the service for the Holy Communion up to a certain point, although there was no subsequent consecration and communion, is a feature to be found in England as early as the First Prayer-Book. There it was directed that on Wednesdays and Fridays, though there be none to communicate with the Priest, the Priest, "in a plain albe or surplice with a cope," shall "say all things at the altar (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper) until after the offertory. And then shall add one or two of the Collects aforewritten, as occasion shall serve, by his discretion. And then turning him to the people shall let them depart with the accustomed blessing."

We find what is substantially the same practice well established in some of the German Churches several years before 1549. Compare, for instance, the Brandenburg Order of 1540,¹ which was singularly close to the English rite of 1549.

¹ Richter, i. 327.

It may be worth observing, as an interesting point, that in the Brandenburg Order for what have been styled "Table Prayers" the priest is directed to wear "not a chasuble, but only a choir-cope (*kein Casula, sondern allein ein Korkappen*)"; while at the service when there was a celebration he was to wear "the accustomed ecclesiastical vesture," which included the chasuble. In our English book of 1549, the priest was to "put upon him a plain albe or surplice with a *cope*" for "Table Prayers," while for a service with a celebration he was permitted at least to choose the vestment (*i.e.* the chasuble) instead of the cope. The rubric, as regards the occasion of a celebration, runs, "The Priest . . . shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white albe plain, with a vestment or cope." As is now well known, the word "vestment" was commonly used as equivalent to the chasuble.

In the Order drawn up by Bugenhagen for use in Pomerania (1535) we find the same feature of "Table Prayers," as we may for brevity call them. All that was prescribed for the earlier part of the Mass, namely, Introit, Kyrie, Gloria in excelsis, Collect, Epistle, Gradual, Gospel, Nicene Creed, Sermon, was to be said or sung when there was no

celebration.¹ Again, the direction of what is to be done when there are no persons to communicate follows almost the same line in the Brunswick Order of 1528,² and in the Order for the Palatinate (1543). In the last-named, where there was no celebration, the priest was not to wear the "accustomed Mass-vestment," but a cope (*Chormantel*), or only a surplice, and to perform the service of the Mass up to the sermon. After the sermon the Litany was said, or, if time did not allow, a hymn, collect, and blessing.

These examples may suffice to show that the English Reformers may not improbably have had the idea of "Table Prayers" suggested to them by some of the German Church Orders. The advantages of the devotions of the early part of the Mass and of the instruction derivable from the Epistle, Gospel, and Creed, would naturally cause the Reformers to be unwilling that the people should be deprived of them on those occasions when there was no celebration.

It may be added that the permission to wear only a surplice in the Order for the Palatinate, noticed above, is probably to be explained by the Brandenburg Order of 1540, which directs that when there were no communicants, and

¹ Richter, i. 258.

² *Ibid.* i. 115.

therefore no celebration, the chasuble should not be worn, but only the cope; and in *village-churches*, "where there are no copes," there should be worn "a plain surplice (*ein schlechten Corrock*)."

X

COMMUNION OF THE SICK

I HAVE not observed in commentaries or historical accounts of the Prayer-Book any notice of the probable influence of German Church Orders on the origin and structure of this service, as presented in 1549, and to some extent as it appears in 1552.

It will be remembered that the mediæval service-books supplied no provision for a celebration of the Eucharist in the sick man's house. The sick were communicated with the reserved Sacrament in one kind. When, therefore, it was resolved in 1549 that, under certain circumstances, a celebration should take place in the sick man's house, namely, on a day which was "not appointed for the open Communion in the Church," the Reformers had to bethink themselves as to the form of service to be used. On a day when there was "the open Communion in the church" the priest would reserve (according to the rubrics of the Prayer-Book of 1549)

“so much of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood as shall serve the sick person and so many as shall communicate with him, if there be any.” But on other days a celebration was to be held in the sick man’s house. Hence we gather that reservation in the Church of England between 1549 and 1552 was in its purpose limited to communicating the sick. In no case was the Sacrament to be kept beyond the day upon which it was consecrated.

Even to this preliminary stage in the history of the reformed service for the Communion of the sick we find parallels in two of the German Church Orders.

- There is a tolerably close resemblance between the Brandenburg Church Order of 1540¹ and the Order for the Communion of the Sick in the Prayer-Book of 1549. Warning was to be given to the priest the day before, and on the following morning, if there had been a Communion in the church, the Sacrament, in both kinds was to be taken from the altar to the sick man. In the larger towns, when there was a sudden call for communicating a sick man who might not survive till the morning, the priest, when it is announced to him, or he is summoned by the ringing of the church bell, shall resort to the church, ask those present to

¹ Richter, i. 329.

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pray for the sick man, and then in the presence of even only a few (for where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name there He is in the midst) shall consecrate, and then take the Sacrament to the sick man. This last interesting provision is unknown to the Prayer-Book of 1549; but the former feature is exactly what is ordered in the Prayer-Book, "if the day be not appointed for the open Communion"; and in the English book it is applied to all churches, whether in town or country. The Brandenburg book makes a different order for small towns and villages (as distinguished from cities). In the small towns and villages the consecration was to be in the sick man's house.

We are informed by Richter¹ that in all essential points the Pfalz-Neuburg Order of 1543 followed the Brandenburg Order, in the Communion of the Sick. The Pfalz-Neuburg Order is regarded (as, *e.g.*, by Mr Brightman) as having been known to our Reformers, and as having had its influence on the Invocation of the Consecration of the Eucharist in the Book of 1549. It may, therefore, have had influence on the 1549 form for communicating the sick. This Order also sanctions communicating the sick with the Sacrament from the

¹ ii. 29.

altar of the church. These two German Church Orders mark the most conservative of the liturgical movements in the German states. Dr Jacobs¹ describes these two Church Orders as "pure in doctrine, but adhering most strictly [by which he must mean "most strictly of all the Reformation Church Orders"] to the received Roman forms."

The great majority of the German Church Orders, however, did not sanction the carrying of the Sacrament to the sick man's house ; and, as we know, in 1552 the conveyance of the Sacrament to the sick man's house disappeared with us.

The warning that men should "always be in a readiness to die," and that they should not defer communicating till their last hour, which we find in the preliminary rubric, we find also in the opening of the corresponding section of the Brandenburg Order (1540).

When the necessity arises the sick man is to give notice to the priest the day before ; and in the morning, before midday ("afore noon," Prayer-Book of 1549), after the sacristan has made ready a table in the sick man's house, where relations and neighbours were assembled, the priest shall set thereon the

¹ *Lutheran Movement in England*, 223.

hosts and chalice on the corporal. He says a general confession (although the sick man has made his private confession) and absolution, consecrates the host, and gives to the sick man with the words, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given in death for thee, strengthen and preserve thee in the faith unto everlasting life. Amen." The priest then consecrates a few drops of wine, and communicates the sick man, using the words, "The blood of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thy sins, strengthen," etc. The ablutions of the priest's fingers were given to the sick man or to some other.

The differences between this service and our own are as observable as the resemblances. It may be remarked that in the German Church Orders the communicating of the people in the sacrament of the Body of Christ before the consecration of the cup is a frequent feature.

In Hermann's books we find directions for a celebration at the house of the sick. There is a preliminary instruction that pastors should exhort the people that "not only those of the household (*domestici*), but also relations (*cognati*) and neighbours of the sick should endeavour to assemble at such celebration of the Holy Supper, and together to partake of the

Sacraments.”¹ With this may be compared the rubric of 1549, “The sick person shall always desire some, either of his own house, or else of his neighbours, to receive the Holy Communion with him.” In 1552 there should be “a good number to receive the Communion with the sick person.” And so it continued to be the normal rule till 1662,² exception being made in the case of the prevalence of the plague, sweat, etc.

¹ *Deliberat.*, fol. xcvi. *verso*.

² In the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637 we find “a sufficient number, at least two or three,” which no doubt suggested our present rubric.

XI

BAPTISM

I

THE RENUNCIATIONS IN THE ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOK

THE baptismal renunciations of the Sarum Manual (and the same may be said of the use of York) were threefold, and each had reference to Satan—" *Priest. N. Dost thou renounce Satan? Answer. I renounce (abrenuntio). Priest. And all his works? Answer. I renounce. Priest. And all his pomps? Answer. I renounce.*"¹ This form (which was the form of the Roman Ritual) appears to have been general in Western Christendom at the period of the Reformation.²

In the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. the form was as follows :—" *Then shall the Priest demand of the child (which shall be first bap-*

¹ See Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia* (2nd edit.), i. 23; Henderson's *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis Ecclesie Eboracensis*, 16. In the York use each question had the name of the infant prefixed; in the Sarum use, only the first.

² For the Ambrosian use, see p. 257, note.

tised) these questions following: first, naming the child, and saying,

"N. Dost thou forsake the devil and all his works?

"*Answer.* I forsake them.

"*Minister.* Dost thou forsake the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all the covetous desires of the same?

"*Answer.* I forsake them.

"*Minister.* Dost thou forsake the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them?

"*Answer.* I forsake them."

It is obvious that the renunciations of our reformed Prayer-Book have underlying them a somewhat different thought from that of the pre-Reformation Manuals—the thought of the great trinity of evil—the world, the flesh, and the devil, renounced in the order, the devil, the world, the flesh.¹ It might perhaps be argued that when carefully examined the English renunciations mean no more than those in the Latin of the Sarum Manual. The matter need not be discussed here. The question, from the view-point of the history of the workmanship of the Prayer-Book, is this—What suggested the changed form of expression?

¹ Compare "the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil" (Litany of 1544), expressions which do not appear in any parallel in the Sarum Litany.

The Reformed English rite, as regards the form of the renunciations, is not directly derived from any of the best-known rites of either the East or the West.

As regards the second of our English renunciations, it may be remarked that there are a few passages in early writers which suggest that in some churches the *world* was renounced in the formula as well as the devil; and some of these passages may possibly have arrested the attention of Cranmer and his colleagues. Thus St Cyprian, writing to Rogatianus, says, "We had renounced the *world* when we were baptised."¹ Again, St Cyprian, in another place, expressing his astonishment and horror at some who had lapsed by making offerings at a heathen altar in the Capitol of Carthage, asks with indignation, "Could a servant of God stand there, and speak and renounce Christ, after having already renounced the devil and the world (*sæculo*)?"² It would be hazardous to infer confidently from these passages that the formula of the renunciations in the North African Church of the third century contained an express reference to the *world*; but the probabilities seem to point in that direction.

¹ "Sæculo renunciaveramus cum baptizati sumus."—*Epist.* xiii.

² *De Lapsis*, § 8.

And the same may be said of the Church at Milan in the time of St Ambrose, whose words are, "Thou didst enter the sacred place (*sacra-rium*) of regeneration; call to mind what questions were put to thee, bring to remembrance what were thine answers. Thou hast renounced the devil and his works, the world (*mundo*), and its luxury, and pleasures (*voluptatibus*)."¹ Still more definite is the testimony of the book on the *Sacraments*, which for a long period went under the name of St Ambrose — more definite, in this, that two separate questions were asked, "When he [the priest] questioned thee, he said, 'Dost thou renounce the devil and his works?' What didst thou reply? 'I renounce.' 'Dost thou renounce the world (*sæculo*) and its works?' What didst thou reply? 'I renounce.' Be mindful of thy pledge (*cautionis*)."² But it will be observed that the language of the second renunciation is different from that found in the acknowledged work of St Ambrose. "The luxury of the world" is wanting, and so is "its pleasures."³

¹ *De Mysteriis*, c. ii.

² *De Sacramentis*, lib. i. cap. 2.

³ In the Ambrosian *Rituale* the form continued to be "Abrenuncias diabolo? [note not "Satanæ"]. *Patrinus pro infante respondet*, Abrenuncio. *Parochus*. Abrenuncias sæculo et pompis ejus? *Patrinus*. Abrenuncio." See Martène, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*, i. 220, where the text of the *Rituale Ambrosianum*, published in 1645, is given.

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A somewhat closer parallel to the form of St Ambrose will be found, as recorded by Martène, in an ancient Gothico-Gallican Missal (first published by J. M. Thomasius). One question only is asked, as in our present English form, and it runs thus, "Dost thou renounce Satan, the pomps of the world (*pompis sæculi*), and its pleasures (*et voluptatibus ejus*)?"¹ This is the nearest parallel which I have found to our English form in the mediæval service-books. I do not, of course, suggest that a form of the kind found in the Gothico-Gallican Missal was known as a matter of fact to our Reformers; but it would be rash to say that it could not have been so; for it is now certain that they were better acquainted with foreign rituals than would have been imagined a hundred years ago.

It will be noticed that in the ancient Gallican form Satan's *works* are not mentioned, while they continue to appear (as in the pre-Reformation English Manuals) in our Prayer-Books. The Ambrosian rite, at anyrate, would probably have been known to Cranmer; and there the *world and its pomps* appeared.

It is plain, at all events, that in their considerable departure from the language of the English Manuals, the Reformers had a good

¹ Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesia Ritibus*, i. 178.

deal of precedent to support them. The most noticeable difference (and it is very striking) is that none of the ancient renunciations (so far as I know) contain (at least expressly) any reference to the lusts of the *flesh*.

The well-known facts of the influence of some of the Reformed service-books of Germany upon the Prayer-Book of 1549 naturally suggested a search in these books for the source of the English baptismal renunciations. To this search I went with hope, but as yet have met only with very partial success.

In studying the question of the influence of Archbishop Hermann's Church-Order on the work of the English Reformers, it is well to bear in mind what has been pointed out by Dom Gasquet,¹ in his valuable work, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer* (p. 227), that there is conclusive evidence that the Reformers had before them, and followed, in several particulars, the Archbishop's German original, *Einfaltigs Bedencken* (1543 and 1544), as well as the Latin translation—*Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio*—of 1545, which differs in some respects from the German. In the German we find the renunciations as follows:—

“Do you renounce, for yourselves and

¹ Since raised to the dignity of Abbot.

on behalf of the child, Satan and all his works?

"*Answer.* Yes, we renounce.

"And the world with all its pomp (*Pracht*), and its desires (*Lusten*)?"

"*Answer.* Yes, we renounce."¹

A few years earlier the *Ordenung der Kirchen zu Cassel* (1539) contained a single renunciation, with a reference to the world's luxury: "*N. Widersagstu dem Teuffel, allen seinen wercken und wesen, sampt aller weltlicher uppigkeit?*" (Richter: *Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, i. 298).

It is interesting to observe that several years before Archbishop Hermann's reforming proclivities had reached the measure which issued in the publication of his *Einfaltigs Bedencken*, he had in his Provincial Council of Cologne, in 1536, promised the publication of a compendium of Christian doctrine, which work appeared in print (together with the canons enacted at the Council) in 1538; and that in this work, known as the *Enchiridion doctrinæ Christianæ*, we have an explanation of the old renunciations of Satan, and all his works, and all his pomps, quite of a kin in its

¹ *Einfaltigs Bedencken*, fol. lxxxii., edit. 1544. In the Latin (1545) the second question runs, "*Etiam mundo et omnibus concupiscentiis ejus?*"

language to the later form of the renunciations in the *Einfaltigs Bedencken*, and its Latin form, the *Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio*. Indeed it might be not unreasonably inferred that an expanded form had already had a place in the forms of Cologne. The passage referred to, when translated from the Latin, appears thus:—“The person about to be baptised makes three renunciations. For when asked, Dost thou renounce Satan? he replies, I renounce: And all his works? he replies, I renounce: And all his pomps, all the vanity and glory of the world, its pride, luxury, pleasures, in a word, all vices? he replies, I renounce.” (fol. lxxxi.).

On the whole, from the evidence adduced, perhaps we shall not be wrong in conjecturing that the form of the first two questions of the renunciations of the Prayer-Book of 1549 was suggested by Archbishop Hermann's work; while, so far as we know at present, the renunciation of “the carnal desires of the flesh” seems to be peculiar to our English service. As a triple renunciation was adhered to in 1549, and “the world” was made the subject of the second, it might naturally have suggested itself that “the carnal desires of the flesh” should be the subject of the third.

I do not know whether attention has been

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called to the fact that while the renunciations in express terms refer to the devil, the world, and the flesh, the address in our Prayer-Book immediately preceding the renunciations (followed by the interrogatory form of the Creed) makes no reference to "the world" or to "the sinful lusts of the flesh." "Wherefore, after this promise made by Christ, these infants must also faithfully for their part promise by you that be their sureties, that they will forsake the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy word and obediently keep his commandments" (First Prayer-Book of Edward VI.). We seem thus to be admitted to witness the process of the work of revision. One may conjecture that the above address was written before the form of the renunciations was finally adjusted.

The reader may naturally ask, what were the renunciations in Luther's *Taufbüchlein*? They do not help us: they ran simply, "Dost thou renounce the devil?"—"Yes"; "And all his works?"—"Yes"; "And all his ways (*wessen*)?"—"Yes."¹

¹ Richter, i. 8.

II

THE ABOLITION OF THE DIRECTION FOR TRINE
IMMERSION IN 1552

The Prayer-Book of 1549 had, in effect, retained the Sarum and York usage. In 1552 there is no reference to triple immersion: the rubric ran simply, "Then the Priest shall take the child in his hands, and ask the name, and naming the child shall dip it in the water, so it be discreetly and warily done." Luther's *Taufbüchlein* of 1523 had a dominating influence upon the German Church Orders. It retained many of the pre-Reformation usages, as, for instance, the use of the spittle, the oil, and the white robe; but the rubric for immersion is only "then he [the priest] takes the child and dips it in the font and says . . ."

The general tendency shown in 1552 to the simplification of the rite may perhaps suffice to account for the change; but it is not impossible that a knowledge that the Reformed Churches of Germany contented themselves with a single immersion may also have weighed with the English Reformers.

XII

CONFIRMATION

I

THE WORKMANSHIP OF THE SERVICE

THE two most important changes in the rite of Confirmation made in 1549 were (1) the order for the delay of the administration of the rite till children had "come to the years of discretion" and had received catechetical instruction; and (2) the abolishing of the anointing with chrism. In both these particulars our Reformers had been anticipated by the German Reformers; and in Archbishop Hermann's books both features are emphasised, and reasons assigned for the changes.

In the Prayer-Book of 1549 the Catechism appeared as a section of the Order for Confirmation, which was entitled, "Confirmation, wherein is contained a Catechism for Children"; and it occupied a similar place in Hermann's book. In both the Cologne and the English formularies the children were required to

possess some elementary knowledge of the faith, and of the duties of religion, before they were presented for Confirmation. The same feature appears in other German Church Orders, as, for example, the Order for Cassel (1539) and the Order for Brandenburg (1540). There are, of course, resemblances between the German and English Catechisms as regards the topics dealt with; but there are very striking differences in the mode of treatment. Indeed, the differences are more remarkable than the agreements. Among other differences, the English Catechism did not contain any teaching on the Lord's Supper (which part of our present Catechism was not added till 1604), while Hermann's Catechism contained some very definite teaching on that mysterious subject.

Again, in Hermann's Catechism there is a declaration, on the part of the child, of self-consecration "to Christ and his Church," which (though beautiful in itself) one can understand the English Reformers hesitating to demand from every candidate for Confirmation.¹

It seems certain on comparison that although

¹ "Credo, Confiteor, et me Christo et Ecclesiæ ejus consecro, fretus gratia et ope Domini et Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi," fol. lxxxi., *verso*.

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the idea of a catechism in connection with Confirmation was probably suggested by Hermann's books, our Reformers in framing the contents of their Catechism were but little, if at all, influenced by Hermann.

The omission of any direction for the use of chrism, when compared with the express direction in the service-book which was in possession—the Latin Pontifical of the English “uses”—leaves, in my opinion (*pace* those who suggest, what is quite true in some cases, that omission is not prohibition), no reasonable doubt that the intention of the Reformers was that chrism should not be used. The absence from the Prayer-Book of any form for the blessing of chrism confirms this opinion. And actual general practice, which is often so valuable an interpreter of law, seems to make entirely for the same view.

It is true that in our Prayer-Book the anointing was *silently* dropped, while in Hermann's books the anointing was, in effect, declared to be superfluous and without the authority of primitive antiquity. “In Confirmation,” writes Hermann, “it was formerly the custom to use the sign of oil ; but inasmuch as this sign has been most superstitiously abused, and as among Christians it is not so much the signs and shadows of spiritual things

as the reality and the truth which should be regarded as of value, the symbol of the imposition of hands shall suffice in this rite, as it sufficed for the Apostles and the more ancient Fathers" (fol. lxxxii. *verso*). This last remark is pertinent and telling.

As compared with Hermann's books, our Prayer-Book seldom deals with controversy, or assigns the reason for the alterations adopted. Reasons, however, are assigned for delaying the administration of Confirmation till children had come to years of discretion. For the sake of the lay people it was desirable that reasons should be given, more especially in view of the belief referred to, namely, that some "detriment" should come to children "by deferring of their Confirmation."¹

A very brief examination of the German and Latin editions of Archbishop Hermann's work shows that it was as much a series of theological treatises on controverted questions as a directory of worship. The character of the English Prayer-Book was altogether different.

It is worthy of observation that in 1549 the opening prayer (which ran closer to the Latin original than our present form) did not attempt to exhibit the expression, *septiformem spiritum*, more literally than by the phrase "with the

¹ See the prefatory rubrics to "Confirmation," 1549.

manifold gifts of grace." Similarly, in the only form of the *Veni Creator*, which appeared in the Ordinal of 1549, the line "Tu *septiformis* munere" became, "Thou in thy gifts art *manifold*."¹ The line, "Who dost thy *sevenfold* gifts impart," in the other version now in our Prayer-Book, belongs to a much later date, being the work, perhaps, of Cosin, and appears to be first found in Cosin's *Private Devotions* (1627). The expression adopted in both the places indicated (in the Prayer-Book of 1549 and the Ordinal of 1549) seems to aim deliberately at avoiding the definite numerical reference. I will not express any opinion whether this change is a loss or a gain. A good deal might be said in favour of each. But that the change was deliberate I do not doubt.

II

THE ORDER IN WHICH THE SEVENFOLD GIFTS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT ARE ENUMERATED IN THE CONFIRMATION SERVICE

In the *Sarum Pontifical*,² in the prayer corresponding to, and obviously (in the main)

¹ The second (much altered) of the two translations which stand in our present service for the Ordination of Priests.

² In the York Pontifical, edited for the Surtees Society by Dr Henderson, the service for Confirmation is lacking.

the source of, our "Almighty and everliving God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate," etc., we find the order of the gifts as recorded differ from that in the Prayer-Book, thus—(1) The Spirit of wisdom and understanding (*intellectus*), (2) the Spirit of knowledge (*scientiæ*) and godliness (*pietatis*), (3) the Spirit of counsel and strength (*fortitudinis*), (4) the Spirit of the fear of the Lord,¹—the order in the Prayer-Book being, 1, 3, 2, 4.

When I first observed this difference I fancied that here we had an example of our Reformers turning to the text of Holy Scripture, and following the order of Isa. xi. 2, 3, as it appears in the Vulgate, with which they were so familiar; and I still think that possibly such may have been the origin of the order followed by the English Prayer-Book. But it is also possible that the Reformers had before them some English Pontifical in which the order followed the Vulgate; and in the Pontifical used by the saintly Bishop Edmund Lacy, of Exeter (1420-55), we find an actual example of this order.²

We also find the order of our Prayer-Book in the ancient York Pontifical of Ecgbirth

¹ Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, i. 39.

² *Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter*, edited by Ralph Barnes, p. 9.

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(A.D. 734-A.D. 766), the earliest known English Pontifical,¹ and in the ancient service-book given by Leofric, first Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1050-A.D. 1072), to St Peter's, Exeter,² so that Lacy's Exeter form may be a lineal descendant of Leofric's so far as regards the particular point under consideration. We thus learn that, though our Reformers here departed from the use of Sarum, they were not without the authority of ancient English Pontificals, not to say anything of Holy Scripture.³

It may be added that the Pontifical of Cologne, as indicated in Archbishop Hermann's *Enchiridion Christianæ Institutionis* (1538)—a book certain to have been known to Cranmer—has the order of our English Prayer-Book.⁴

If we may judge from the various Orders of Confirmation printed by Martène,⁵ the prayer for the sevenfold gifts, though not unknown,

¹ *Surtees Society*, vol. 27, and Martène, *De Antiq. Rit.* i. 253.

² *Leofric Missal* (Warren's edit.), 222. It is interesting to find the title of the prayer in this place to be *Ad manus impositionem*.

³ The so-called *Liber S. Cuthberti* in the library of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, supplies a variant in placing "godliness" before "knowledge"; but otherwise it agrees with the arrangement of the gifts that we have in the Prayer-Book. See *De Bernham's Pontifical* (Appendix II.), edited by Canon Chr. Wordsworth, p. 67.

⁴ Fol. lxxxvi. *verso*.

⁵ *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* i. 255-67.

was comparatively uncommon on the Continent. But at least we can claim a high antiquity for this form, for it appears in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*; ¹ and there the *order* of the sevenfold gifts stands precisely as in our reformed Prayer-Book.

I take it that many of the students of the Prayer-Book in our day regret that at the revision of 1552 the signing with the sign of the Cross was omitted at Confirmation. As it was retained in the service for Baptism, it would seem that the omission here can hardly have been due to regarding the use of this ceremony as essentially objectionable. But there is one difference between the two signings. In the baptismal service the significance of the signing was explained; at Confirmation (though it might have been) it was not explained as a matter of fact. And the spirit of the Reformation was hostile to unexplained symbolism. At any rate, in the Cologne reform we find the same features as in the Second Book of Edward VI.—the cross was retained at Baptism; it was omitted at Confirmation.

Most recent commentaries on the Prayer-Book have pointed out that several character-

¹ H. A. Wilson's edition, 87.

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istic thoughts and turns of expression which mark the prayer in our service after the laying on of hands—"Almighty and everliving God, who makest us," etc.—are plainly derived from a prayer in Hermann's books which was said before the laying on of hands. But it will interest students to see by comparison how the English Reformers dealt with, and, as I cannot but think, much improved upon, their verbose and lumbering original. It is to be remembered that in the *Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio* the prayer (as has been said) preceded, while in our Prayer-Book it followed the laying on of hands. Translated from the Latin, the prayer ran as follows :—

"Almighty and merciful God, Heavenly Father, who alone makest us to will and to accomplish (*ut velimus ac perficiamus*) those things which are acceptable to thee, and truly good, we beseech thee for these children, whom thou hast given to thy Church, and hast regenerated to thee by Holy Baptism, and in whom thou hast infused such light that they have resolved to acknowledge and confess before the Church thy favour and goodness toward them, and to give and consecrate themselves to thee thyself and thy Church, in obedience to thy commandments, confirm this thy work which thou hast wrought in them ;

increase in them the gift of thy Spirit, that, always advancing in the knowledge of thee and in obedience to thy Gospel, they may in thy Church persevere unto the end, and that being never seduced by any perverse doctrine, nor urged (*impulsi*) by the lusts of the flesh, they may never depart from that faith and obedience of the Gospel, which they have just now confessed and professed. Grant unto them that growing abundantly (*feliciter adolescentes*) in thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the common head of us all, they may increase in him in all wisdom, holiness, and righteousness, till they come to the full age of manhood (*ad plene virilem et perfectam aetatem*), so that they may ever know more perfectly, and love more ardently, thee, the Father, and thy Son, our Lord, with the Holy Spirit, and may, before their neighbours, more seriously and effectively confess, celebrate, and glorify thee, both by their words and by their whole life. And, as thou hast promised us that whatever we shall ask of thee, in the name of thy beloved Son, thou wilt give us, and as thy Son has promised that thou wilt give the good Spirit to those that ask thee much more readily than any father among us would give any good thing to his children who ask him, so grant to these thy children what we ask of

thee through thy Son Christ, when presently in thy name we lay hands upon them, and by this sign assure them (*certos eos reddemus*)¹ that thy fatherly hand will ever be extended over them, that the Holy Spirit may never be lacking to preserve, lead, and rule them in the way of salvation and in the truly Christian life. Grant to them, I say, that these truths they may know by faith, and may firmly believe that thou wilt protect them with thine almighty right hand, keep them and free them from all evil, and lead them to all good (*duc-turum et perducturum*), and never take from them thy Holy Spirit ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."²

It will be felt at once that we have cause to be thankful that our English Reformers, or, to be more accurate, the guiding spirit of the liturgical reform, was too deeply impressed with the artistic and literary merits of the devotional forms of the old service-books to adopt the new ways of so many of the German Reformers. One is conscious of a different world of thought and feeling when one reads this prayer, supplied to and adopted by Archbishop Hermann. But it is with form that we are

¹ Prayer-Book : "Certify them by this sign."

² In this case the German original is as prolix as the Latin. It is plainly the Latin form which influenced the English Reformers.

mainly concerned ; and we may well rejoice that German prolixity had no charms for Cranmer, and that while selecting certain elements which he thought meritorious, he possessed the skill and the taste to recast these elements in the moulds furnished by the ancient devotions of the Church.

A feature which seems to me of special value and interest—the prayer for “the *daily* increase,” in those confirmed, of God’s manifold gifts of grace, and again the prayer when the bishop lays his hand upon each that “he may *daily* increase” in God’s Holy Spirit more and more—belongs to the revision of 1552. Whatever were the motives which prompted these important insertions, the prayers, as we now possess them, bring out clearly a thought which may be very helpful in meeting the difficulties which sometimes beset those recently confirmed, who are disappointed in finding that they do not at once experience in their struggle against temptation such an access of spiritual strength as they had hoped for.

The stress laid upon the previous instruction of candidates for Confirmation by both the German and the English Reformers of the

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sixteenth century is, as has been said, a noteworthy feature. But the Reformers were too well acquainted with the practice of the Church in times of remote antiquity, when Confirmation was often closely associated with Baptism, and, in fact, formed with Baptism a continuous service, to assert that the blessing of Confirmation was ineffective without previous religious instruction. Our English Prayer-Book only asserts that Confirmation after due preparation in religious knowledge is "ministered to the more edifying of such as shall receive it," and lays down its rule accordingly. But it is to be observed that in the sixteenth century we find many indications, even in countries still in communion with Rome, of a tendency to delay Confirmation for reasons which may be briefly put, in the language of our Prayer-Book, as making "to the more edifying of such as shall receive it." Thus in the Catechism known as the Catechism of the Council of Trent (*Catechismus ad Parochos*) we find it declared that "the Sacrament of Confirmation can be administered to all after baptism, but yet *it is less expedient* that this should be done before children have the use of reason. Wherefore, if it should seem that the twelfth year is not to be waited for, it is in the highest degree proper (*maxime convenit*) that certainly

this sacrament should be deferred to the seventh year. For Confirmation was not instituted as necessary to salvation (*ad salutis necessitatem*); but that by its virtue we may be found thoroughly furnished and prepared when we shall have to contend for the faith of Christ, for which kind of contest no one would judge children to be fit who still lack the use of reason." (Pars II. cap. iii.; quæstio 17.) The Catechism was issued by command of Pius V. in 1566.

Martène's comment on the passage from the Catechism just cited is as follows: "Immo Catechismus Concilii Tridentini laudat si duodecimus ad confirmationem annus expectetur."¹ And he cites from Articles of Reformation put forth at Paris by seven bishops in 1586, that none "*nisi majores annis*" should be confirmed, that they might the better be able to remember the conferring of the Sacrament, though if children reach the age of ten something of this might be attained.

Both the reformed and the unreformed Churches were in all this departing from early usage, which, beyond doubt, exhibits to us the rite of Confirmation immediately, or almost immediately, after Baptism; but the facts are mentioned here to show that the

¹ *De Antig. Rit. Lib. I. cap. ii. artic. 1.*

Lutherans and the English in their ordinances as to Confirmation were only exhibiting a tendency that was felt in other quarters.

And before the close of the sixteenth century we find in Churches of the Roman obedience ordinances enacted for the *instruction* of candidates for Confirmation. Martène refers to certain French Councils towards the close of the century directing preliminary instruction. Thus the Council of Rouen (1581) required the children to recite the Creed *coram episcopo*; and the Council of Aix (1585) enacted that the parish priest should see that candidates for Confirmation were able to say the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments.¹ The spirit, then, of our English rule has had in modern times its illustrations in other Churches beside those of the German Reformation. The difference between us and the Roman Catholic Church in modern times in this matter is only a difference in the extent of the instruction required previous to Confirmation. The Anglican Churches, requiring a knowledge of the Catechism in addition to the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue, may not unreasonably look, in ordinary cases, to

¹ *De Antiq. Rit.* Lib. I. cap. ii. artic. 1.

a somewhat more advanced age in candidates for Confirmation.

As a matter of fact, in the history of the Church of England we find early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Bishop Bentham of Lichfield issuing orders which indicate that he thought children should be confirmed by the time they reached the age of seven.¹ And even after the enlargement of the Catechism by the questions on the Sacraments in 1604, we find from Cosin that the practice continued in some quarters; but he himself disapproves of Confirmation at this early age. He says that "they should not be confirmed so young as they use to be, but when they are of perfect age, and ready to be admitted to the Holy Communion, which is between fourteen and sixteen."²

Other bishops in the seventeenth century inquire the names of those parishioners who have not communicated thrice within the year, but ordinarily limit the inquiry to those above the age of sixteen. It will perhaps surprise some to learn that one who has been described as "the great catholic-minded theologian," Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, in his *Articles, to be inquired of by the Church-Wardens* at his

¹ Strype's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. chap. 45.

² *Works*, vol. v. 488.

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Primary Visitation (1619), puts the question, "Whether do all Parishioners receive the Holy Communion thrice every year at the least, whereof the Feast of Easter to be one, and have all, being of *the age of eighteen years*, duly received or not?"¹ Inferentially we may gather that he did not approve of early Confirmation.

In the introductory matter to "Confirmation" in the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. there is a passage which, with slight modification, continued down to 1662, and points, I think there can be little doubt, to the age of puberty, or of the near approach to puberty. After stating that Confirmation is ministered to the baptised that they may receive strength against all temptations of sin and the assaults of the world and the devil, it is declared that "It [Confirmation] is most meet to be ministered when children come to that age that, partly by the frailty of *their own flesh*, partly by the assaults of the world and the devil, they begin to be in danger to fall into [sundry kinds of—(1552)] sin."

Again, in the same introductory rubric it is stated that "it [the new order] is agreeable with the usage of the Church in times past, whereby it was ordained that Confirmation

¹ *Minor Works*, p. 120.

should be ministered to them that were of *perfect age*," etc. What was it that our Reformers were thinking of when they wrote the above words? I suspect it may have been a passage, familiar to every Canonist among them, in the *Decretum* (Pars III. distinct. v. 6). It is cited in the *Decretum* as from "the Council of Orleans," and runs, "Ut jejuni ad Confirmationem veniant *perfectæ ætatis*, ut moneantur Confessionem facere prius," etc.¹

We are not concerned with the question whether the Reformers rightly understood the drift of the canon supposed to be of the Council of Orleans, yet I may say in passing that the passage cited by Gratian in the *Decretum* seems to me to teach no more than that those who were of *perfect age*, when they came for Confirmation, should come fasting and confessed. But the passage was *apparently* understood much as our English Reformers understood it by the Provincial Council of Cologne, the canons enacted at which were published in folio in 1538. There (*fol. xxvi.*) we read, "Whether it is expedient to follow the custom by which Confirmation is conferred

¹ This canon, which Gratian cites as from a Council of Orleans, is to be found in the *Capitula* of Herard, Archbishop of Tours, A.D. 858.

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not only on adults but on children, and after their having taken food (*pransis*), we do not here determine; although that which was authorised by the Council of Orleans is more pleasing to us, namely, that those of *perfect age* (*perfectæ ætatis*) should come fasting to Confirmation, and that they should be admonished to make sacramental confession before they come [to Confirmation], cleansed by which they may be worthy to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." The canon concludes with the observation that "a child before he has passed his seventh year knows (not to say remembers) little or nothing of what is done."

The drift of the whole is that the Council of Cologne, while preferring that candidates for Confirmation should be "of perfect age" and come fasting and confessed to the sacrament of Confirmation, does not venture to make any determination as to the age of the candidates, only indicating its disapproval of Confirmation being administered to those below the age of seven. This is of value as showing the tendency of opinion in the unreformed Church more than ten years earlier than Cranmer's First Prayer-Book.¹

¹ "Perfect age," according to the Civilians, was the age of twenty-five years. We have just seen that Cosin understood the term as meaning "between fourteen and sixteen."

XIII

MATRIMONY

SOME LUTHERAN FEATURES IN OUR SERVICE

1. IT has been already shown that Luther's *Marriage Book (Traubüchlein)* exerted its influence on the Form of the Solemnization of Matrimony in our Prayer-Book.¹ I would now point to another example of the same influence. And it may be remarked that this example has not been noticed by Dr Jacobs, who gives many Lutheran parallels to our forms in the service for Matrimony.

"N., Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife to live together *after God's ordinance in the holy estate of matrimony?*" (Prayer-Book of 1549). In none of the forms, Latin or vernacular, collected by Mr Maskell in his *Monumenta Ritualia* from the old English Manuals, is there anything that quite corresponds to the words italicised above. But we find them in Luther's "*Traubüchlein für die einfältigen Pfarrherrn*" (1534). They

¹ *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, 2nd edit., p. 260.

occur in the opening challenge where those who have any objection to raise should now speak or else hereafter be silent (*oder schweige darnach*); and the parallelism is extraordinarily close:—"nach göttlicher Ordnung zum heiligen Stande der Ehe." The words occur in the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order in the publication of the banns (fol. clxv. *verso*). Almost the same words occur in Hermann's *Bedencken*; but Luther is closer to our form, for Hermann's words read "the estate of holy matrimony," while Luther's, like ours, "the holy estate of matrimony."

2. To this I would add a point which has been obscured by the differences between the Latin of Hermann and the original German, which, I think, there can be little doubt was here before the English Reformers. I refer to the solemn declaration of the marriage by the minister, "Forasmuch as N. and N." etc. In the Latin, and in Daye's translation of the Latin, the minister says, "I, the minister of Christ and the congregation (*ecclesie*) pronounce," etc. Our English form has simply "I pronounce," etc., and so it is in the German of Hermann. But our form is still closer to that in Luther's *Marriage Book*, except that in Luther's form we have "before God and *the world*," which becomes "before God and

his company (*Gemein*)" in Hermann, the latter word meaning "congregation." In 1549 and onwards the Prayer-Book gives "*this* company," obscuring the thought that the marriage was acknowledged *in facie ecclesie*.¹

3. In the Sarum and York rites, Ps. cxxviii., "Blessed are all they that fear the Lord," was prescribed for use as the priest and the married couple proceeded *ad gradum altaris*. In Hermann this Psalm is given as an alternative with Ps. cxxvii., "Except the Lord build the house," etc. In 1549 we, too, adopted an alternative Psalm, but wisely chose one having no reference to the gift of children (to meet the case contemplated in one of the rubrics), which is referred to in both the Psalms of Hermann's book. This is another example, to be added to many, of the freedom with which our Reformers dealt with the Lutheran as well as the pre-Reformation forms.

¹ Compare "in the sight of God and in the face of his congregation" (1549), changed to "this congregation" in 1662.

XIV

THE RISK IN REHANDLING OLD LITURGICAL FORMS, ILLUSTRATED FROM PRAYERS IN THE PRAYER-BOOK, ORIGINALLY ADDRESSED TO THE LORD JESUS CHRIST

[I]T is only those of us who are well advanced in years that can remember the lively controversy caused by Bishop Colenso's assertion that "the *whole spirit and general practice* of our Liturgy manifestly tends to discourage such worship" ["the worship of, and prayer to our Lord"]. The bishop drew "attention to the fact," as he alleged, "that out of 180 collects and prayers contained in the Prayer-Book only *three* or *four* at most are addressed to our Lord, the others being addressed *through* Christ *to* Almighty God." "I have said," he adds, "that there are also ejaculations in the Litany and elsewhere addressed to Christ." Dr Heurtley, the Oxford Margaret Professor, and Mr Perowne, then Hulsean Lecturer at Cambridge, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, promptly replied in the columns of the *Times*. Mr Merivale, afterwards Dean of Lincoln, in

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an excellent letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and others, showed very clearly the misleading character of Bishop Colenso's statements. But the most exhaustive examination (it was after all a simple task) was that made by Canon Liddon in an appendix to his Bampton Lectures.

It may be dismissed as intrinsically absurd to suppose that the English Reformers in the changes which they made had any slightest tendency, for dogmatic reasons, to make changes in the address of prayers originally directed to our Blessed Lord. Yet as a matter of fact there are examples of such changes. And in some cases the changes made have, from a liturgical and literary standpoint, seriously marred the beauty and even the special appropriateness of their work.¹

The most notable example is the adaptation of the noble Antiphon of the *Magnificat* for Ascension Day which has given us our Collect for the Sunday after Ascension. Another, scarcely less striking, is our Collect for the fourth Sunday in Advent. But I have dealt with both these elsewhere.²

Again, in 1549 the brief and beautiful

¹ On the other hand the collect for the 1st Sunday in Lent (which dates from 1549), is addressed to our Lord, while that in the Sarum Missal for which it was substituted was not so addressed.

² *Workmanship of the Prayer-Book*, pp. 127-29.

collect for the third Sunday in Advent, "Lord, we beseech thee, give ear to our prayers, and by thy gracious visitation lighten the darkness of our hearts, by our Lord Jesus Christ," in the Sarum and York books ended with a *Qui vivis*.¹ The change of address by Cranmer and his colleagues was unhappy. The substitution of a new collect in 1661 has deprived us of this exquisite form, breathing, as it does, the spirit of longing for the inward shining of the great light which was typified externally by the glory of the Lord upon the night of the Nativity. Our present collect for the third Sunday in Advent is, no doubt, a solid and careful piece of work, and, like the prayer for which it was substituted, is addressed to our Blessed Lord, and in a yet more pointed way than was the Latin collect of pre-Reformation days. But we feel it to be a "composition," lacking the natural magic of the form of 1549, and of its Latin original.

It is to the revision of 1661 that we owe a change in the prayer in the *Visitation of the Sick*, beginning, "Hear us, Almighty and most merciful God and Saviour." In the Prayer-Book of 1549, and downward to 1661, the

¹ The words in the Sarum, York, and Hereford books ran as follows:—"Aurem tuam, quæsumus, Domine, precibus nostris accomoda: et mentis nostræ tenebris gratia tuæ visitationis illustra. Qui vivis."

prayer does not conclude with "through Jesus Christ our Lord," or any similar formula. The original in the Sarum Manual ends with a *Qui vivis et regnas*, before which the words, *Salvator mundi* appear, and we are left in no doubt that the prayer was addressed to Christ. In the English the word "Saviour" was transferred to the opening; and this, with the absence of any pleading of Christ's merits at the close, might well have caused the revisers of 1661 to pause before attempting to make the change. Indeed, up to 1661 the body of the prayer contained very specific references to Christ: "Visit him, O Lord, as thou didst visit Peter's wife's mother, and the Captain's servant." It may be readily admitted that the revision of the prayer in 1661 introduced some new and valuable thoughts; but it withdrew (so far forth) the testimony of the Church to its faith in our Lord as the "Almighty and most merciful God." It would have been quite possible to have secured the new thoughts and also retained the old testimony. And if some customary ending were felt to be needed for what might seem a somewhat abrupt close, the formula "who livest and reignest," etc., was ready to hand, as it stood in the original Latin.¹

¹ In the *Missal of Robert of Jumilges*, assigned by the learned editor, Rev. H. A. Wilson, to between A.D. 1008 and A.D. 1023,

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We have a similar charge to make against the revisers of 1661 of obscuring (though, doubtless, with no such intention) the Church's testimony to the deity of Christ in their treatment of the beautiful and touching antiphon, "O Saviour of the world," etc., which appears at a later point in the same service. In the Sarum Manual (in the service *De Extrema Unctione*) this form was the antiphon to Psalm lxxi. (*In te, Domine, speravi*), and ran thus, "Salvator mundi, salva nos, qui per crucem et sanguinem redemisti nos: auxiliare nobis te deprecamur, Deus noster." In 1549 and down to 1661, in the English Prayer-

there is a prayer (p. 287) which bears a considerable resemblance to that before us. But the prayer has been so freely rehandled in the Sarum book that for our purpose it need not be considered. In the original of the prayer in the Sarum Manual the following sentence occurs, "Visita eum, Domine, sicut visitare dignatus es socrum Petri, puerumque centurionis, et Tobiam et Saram per sanctum angelum tuum, Raphaellem." In 1549 the corresponding words were "Visit him, O Lord, as thou didst visit Peter's wife's mother, and the captain's servant. And as thou preservest Thobie and Sara by thy angel from danger." In 1552 the reference to Thobie and Sara disappeared, doubtless because the incident referred to was questionable from the side of historical accuracy. But the removal in 1661 of the reference to St Peter's wife's mother and the centurion's servant is not so easily accounted for. In Coverdale's Bible, of 1535, the centurion (Luke vii. 2) was "a captayne," but in the Great Bible of 1539, Tyndale's version of 1534 was here followed, and he was a "centurion."

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Books it appeared in this form : " O Saviour of the world, save us, which by thy cross and precious blood hast redeemed us, help us, we beseech thee, O God." The endearing epithet " precious " is a gain ; but the separation of the relative clause from its antecedent is not compensated by the closeness of " Saviour " and " save." There is no doubt that our present form is much more smooth and rhythmical ; but why should " O God " have been changed into " O Lord " ?¹ Better still would have been the " O our God " of the original.

I have not had opportunities for tracing with any fulness the history of this exquisite form. It is not, I believe, to be found in any of the various rites for Extreme Unction printed by Martène. Nor does it appear in that rite as given in the York Manual. But it is found in the Sarum Breviary as an antiphon in the second nocturn of the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (Procter and Wordsworth's edit., iii. 815); and it is

¹ As, originally, only the first part of the antiphon was said before the psalm, it was necessary that the word " salva " (or some verb) should appear in that part. The rubrics ran, " Priusquam ungatur infirmus, *incipiat* Sacerdos Antiphonam : *Salvator mundi*. Deinde dicatur Psalmus, *In te, Domine, speravi*: Finito Psalmo cum *Gloria Patri*. . . . *Sicut erat*. *Tota* dicatur Antiphona : *Salvator mundi* . . . *Deus noster*."

found in the third nocturn for the same festival in the York Breviary (Henderson's edit., ii. 556).

An example of the risks attendant on the rehandling of the ancient liturgical forms will be found in the familiar prayer in our service for Public Baptism beginning, "Almighty and immortal God, the aid of all that need." This prayer is a translation (with certain omissions and modifications) of a prayer which stood in the pre-Reformation Manuals of England in the *Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum*, which preceded the actual baptismal rite. It was said only over males (why, it seems impossible to say). In the Sarum Manual it ends with the formula, *Qui vivis et regnas*, which shows that it was addressed to our Lord Jesus Christ. But let it be observed that even in the body of the prayer there is evidence that the proper address is to our Saviour. The address is to Him who is "the Life of them that believe, and the Resurrection of the Dead," which at once turns our thoughts to the awe-inspiring declaration of the Lord Jesus, "I am the resurrection and the life; whosoever believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live" (John xi. 25).

In the prayer as it appears in the Sarum Manual we find, "*Thou* didst vouchsafe to say,

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Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you," the words of our Lord in His Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vii. 7). The Reformers as they changed the address of the prayer from the Son to the Father saw at once that some change was necessary here, and so after the words, "as Thou hast promised," they inserted the words, "by thy well-beloved Son." But they overlooked, somehow, the pointed reference to the Divine Son in the phrase, already indicated, "the Life of them that believe, and the Resurrection of the dead." And this unquestionable blot remains to this day.¹

In mitigation of the charge of carelessness on the part of the Reformers it may be pointed out that in the text of the York Manual (p. 7), edited by Dr Henderson for the Surtees Society, we find the prayer ending (doubtless through an error of the scribe) with *Per Christum Dominum*. Indeed the error, for an error it unquestionably is, can be traced back to the text of the Gregorian Sacramentary, where the prayer ends with "Per Dominum," etc.² In Luther's *Tauffbuchlin* the prayer is translated tolerably closely;

¹ The form without any collect-ending is to be found cited by Martène (i. 191), "ex MS. codice Parthenonis B.M. Calensis, in diocœsi Parisiensi, annorum circiter 800."

² Muratori, ii. 155.

but there too the form closes with "through Christ our Lord." Thus we see that the error was of early origin, and persistent. In Hermann's book, both in the German and in the Latin forms, the corresponding prayer is addressed to God the Father, and closes with "through Christ our Lord." But it may be remarked that the ending of collects is a very likely place for errors to occur.¹ The general rule for collects in the Mass was that they should be addressed to the Father. Indeed, we find some of the older ritualists overstating the facts, and alleging that in *all* collects of the Mass we end with *per Christum Dominum nostrum* or some similar expression. Thus in the ancient treatise *De Divinis Officiis*, which was for a long time, though incorrectly, attributed to the great Englishman Alcuin, we read, after an attempt to explain the meaning of the word "collect," "In *omnibus collectis* interponitur *Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*, etc., ut omne quod datur a Patre intelligamus per Filium ejus nos accipere, cujus hæreditas sumus. Per ipsum ergo hostiam laudis atque orationis offerimus, qui per mortem ipsius reconciliati sumus, cum inimici essemus" (Migne. P.L., tom. ci. col. 1249).

¹ The *Rituale Romanum* of Paul V. and Benedict XIV. gives the prayer in its correct form, addressed to Christ.

Again, in that curious liturgical treatise which goes under the name "Micrologus," we find (cap. v.) cited, as if from the 23rd Canon of the Third Council of Carthage, "Let no one at the altar name the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father; but let him always direct prayer to the Father (*semper orationem ad Patrem dirigat*)." And (in cap. vi.), where this author discourses *De conclusionibus orationum*, he says, "We end almost all collects with 'per Dominum nostrum'; though in a very few we say, after mentioning the Lord Jesus, '*qui tecum vivit et regnat*.'" He makes no reference to the form "*qui vivis*," etc. Pamelius assigns the date of *Micrologus* to about the time of Pope Gregory VII. (A.D. 1073-85).¹

Dr Bright remarks, "Pope Benedict XIV. quotes Cardinal Bona's statement that only a few collects are expressly offered to the Son and none to the Holy Spirit; partly because the eucharistic worship has reference to the Sacrifice offered to the Father by the Son" (*Ancient Collects*, 3rd edit., 201).

¹ This work, of great interest to liturgical students, would seem to have been written shortly after the death of Gregory VII.: see Guéranger (*Institutions Liturgiques*, i. 307) and Cave (*Historia Literaria*, ii. 155).

XV

ORDINATION OF PRIESTS : THE ENGLISH FORM
COMPARED WITH THE CORRESPONDING PARTS OF
THE MEDIÆVAL PONTIFICALS ; BEING PART OF AN
ADDRESS TO CANDIDATES FOR THE PRIESTHOOD

IN the revision and reformation of the mediæval service-books of England in the sixteenth century there were few parts which underwent more important changes than that part of the *Pontificale* which is occupied with the services for the conferring of Orders. What were known as the Minor Orders, some of which have very early vouchers for a place in the organisation of the Church, were at one blow abolished. Even what was then reckoned one of the *Holy* Orders, the sub-diaconate, met the same fate.

There can be no doubt, in my judgment, that in this action the national Church of England was within her rights; though it may perhaps be questioned whether she was altogether wise in the manner in which her rights were exercised.

It was at that time acknowledged by the most learned of the unreformed Church that the Minor Orders were not *jure divino*. From the view-point of ecclesiastical history it had long been acknowledged that the Minor Orders were not essential to the Church's organisation. Amalarius, who was reckoned a high authority among the mediæval ritualists, writing some time about the beginning of the ninth century, after saying quite correctly, "Crescente ecclesia crevit officium ecclesiasticum," quotes from the treatise ascribed to St Ambrose, on the Epistle of St Paul to Timothy, to the effect that we need not wonder that St Paul makes no mention of the sub-diaconate, because it and other Orders were added afterwards only *propter utilitatem ministerii* (De Eccles. Offic. Lib. ii. cap. 6). Peter Lombard, the much venerated Master of the Sentences, says that the Primitive Church had only the higher orders, and concerning these alone we have the precept of the Apostle. "Subdiaconos vero et acolythos, procedente tempore, ecclesia sibi constituit" (*Sent.*, lib. iv. distinct. 24).

But for our purpose more interesting than any of the mediæval authorities is that very remarkable document, *The Institution of a Christian Man*, published (note the date) in

1537, both in quarto and octavo, popularly known as "The Bishops' Book," and rightly so called, for it was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and nineteen bishops of the two provinces. Among the bishops subscribing were not only those who subsequently appear in the rank of the Reformers, but "Stephen Winton." (Gardiner) and "Cuthbert Dunelm." (Tonstall); and the book was also subscribed by Edmund Bonner, then Archdeacon of Leicester. In this work we find the following: The inward and invisible grace of this sacrament (as Orders were then reckoned) "is nothing else but the power, office, and authority . . . to minister the word and sacraments"; and (observe this) "the visible and outward sign is the prayer and imposition of the bishop's hands upon the person which receiveth the said gift or grace." On the question of Minor Orders the *Institution*¹ proceeds as follows:—"Albeit the holy Fathers of the Church, which succeeded the Apostles (minding to beautify and ornate the Church of Christ with all those things which were commendable in the temple of the Jews), did devise not only certain other ceremonies than before rehearsed, rasures,

¹ See *Formularies of Faith put forth by authority during the Reign of Henry VIII.* (Oxford), pp. 104, 105.

unctions, and such other observances, to be used in the ministration of the said sacrament, but did also institute certain inferior orders or degrees, as janitors, lectors, exorcists, acolytes, and sub-deacons, and deputed, to every one of those, certain offices to execute in the church (wherein they followed undoubtedly the example and rites used in the Old Testament), yet the truth is, that in the New Testament, there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops." Note in passing it does not say priests *and* bishops but priests *or* bishops. "Nor is there any word spoken of any other ceremony used in the conferring of this sacrament but only of prayer, and the imposition of the bishop's hands."

This document appeared, as we have said, in 1537; and when, more than ten years afterwards, the Reformers undertook the revision of the service-books of the Church, their way had been made clear for the action which they finally took, both as regards confining the Orders of the Church to those specified in the New Testament, and also limiting the outward and visible sign to that which had the warrant of the New Testament.

The comparison of the pre-Reformation Pontificals of England with our "Form of

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making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons" is instructive in many respects. While the chief emphasis of thought in the pre-Reformation books is on the function of the priest as one who offers sacrifice for the quick and dead, the emphasis in our reformed Pontifical is on the pastoral office of the priesthood. This appears in the *language*; it appears also in the *ceremonial* of the two rites. In the pre-Reformation bishop's address as to what pertains to the office of a priest the first word that occurs is *offerre*: "Sacerdotem oportet offerre, benedicere, praesse, praedicare, conficere, et baptizare."¹ In our service-book we look in vain (and it is really a very remarkable feature) to any reference to the Eucharist, except as included in the general term "the Sacraments":—"Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His holy Sacraments"; "Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the holy Sacraments."

Again, it is true that many eminent theologians of that day in the unreformed Church did not regard the *traditio instrumentorum* as essential to the validity of the

¹ In some English Pontificals the word "conficere" was omitted, doubtless because it was supposed to have been already included in the word "offerre."

Sacrament of Orders. Nevertheless it was a very striking and significant piece of ceremonial. The delivery of the paten with oblates and of the chalice with wine, made severally to every one of the persons being ordained priests was perhaps the most notable and impressive piece of ritual in the whole service. In the first reformed Ordinal which appeared in March 1549-50 we see the beginning of the change. The Bishop was directed to deliver "the Bible in the one hand, and the chalice or cup with the bread in the other hand." But in our present Ordinal the delivery of the chalice and bread is wholly struck out. The words with which the rite of the delivery of the chalice was accompanied were regarded by many as the essential *form* of the *sacramentum sacerdotii*, "Receive power to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate mass as well for the living as for the dead. In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ." These words are deleted; and nothing even approaching them in significance is substituted in their place. Again, in the old rite the chasuble was placed on the person ordained; and he was bid "Receive the sacerdotal vestment." This also, a striking piece of ceremonial, was removed even from the first Ordinal of Edward VI. The candidate for

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deacon's Orders and the candidate for priest's Orders were each alike to be vested in "a plain albe"; and in "a plain albe" they both alike remained to the close of the service.

Again, in the Sarum rite the episcopal unction and blessing of the hands of the candidates for the priesthood was primarily "ad consecrandas hostias, quæ pro delictis atque negligentibus populi offeruntur." Both unction and blessing were removed. And, not to delay to enter into the details where the sacrifice as offered by the priest is referred to more or less clearly, the bishop in his subsequent blessing prays that "The Blessing of God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost may descend upon you that ye may be blessed in the priestly order, and may offer *placabiles hostias* for the sins and offences of the people to Almighty God." Through this a pen was drawn, and no attempt made to substitute anything similar.

But the domination of this line of thought in the pre-Reformation Ordinal is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the words of the bishop addressed to the *deacon* when the book of the liturgical Gospels is delivered to him. "Take thou authority to read the gospel in the church of God as well for the living as for the dead."

It is obvious that the alteration of the reformed English Ordinal is deep and sweeping. The real way of estimating its effect is to read first the Sarum Pontifical for the ordination of priests (and when you read it, read it not as abbreviated in the handbooks on the Prayer-Book, but in full as printed in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*) and then to read the two Edwardine forms, and the form at present in force as revised in 1661. Any one with the least feeling for the sense of literary forms is at once struck by the greatness and the depth of the change.

The Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* of Pope Leo XIII. has in my opinion scarcely, if at all, overstated the facts when it says (always on the assumption that the grace and power of the priesthood is, as declared by his Holiness in the Bull, chiefly the power of "consecrating and offering the true body and blood of the Lord." *Concil. Trident.* sess. xxiii. can. 1), "In the whole [English] Ordinal not only is there no clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the *sacerdotium*, and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice, but every trace of these things, which had existed in those prayers of the Catholic rite not wholly rejected, was deliberately (*de industria*) removed and struck out." The Bull of the

13th Sept. 1896 is justly reckoned vulnerable in many particulars, but it is not vulnerable here.

The true conception of intention in the conferring of any office may be expressed in many ways. The whole question lies in this—Has the intention to make a priest been sufficiently expressed, not only in the Caroline Ordinal of 1662, but in all the preceding Ordinals of the Reformed Church of England? We, all of us, believe that the answer is in the affirmative. But this must not disguise from us the vast change of standpoint exhibited by the contrast of the ancient Sarum rite and the rite of the Anglican Churches since 1549-50. No longer is the chasuble given, no longer is the chalice and the bread delivered. What is the ceremonial which has taken the place of the *porrectio instrumentorum*? It is the delivery of the Bible. The mediæval world, civil and ecclesiastical, abounded in forms of investiture in office; and what was believed to be an especially appropriate symbol was chosen to set forth the conveyance of the rights of office. The ostiarius was given the keys of the church; the reader was given a codex; the exorcist, his book of exorcisms; the acolyte, a taper and an empty cruet; the sub-deacon, an empty chalice and paten; the deacon, the book

of the Liturgical Gospels; the priest, the paten with obleys and the chalice with wine. But in the reformed service-book the priest is given the Bible. First in the thoughts of those to whom we owe our Ordinal was the stewardship of the Christian Presbyter as the Dispenser of the Word of God. In this sense you are indeed about to be made stewards of the mysteries of God. The things which were hidden but now are revealed, the doctrines of the Faith, the truths of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, it is for you to bestow and distribute in fitting measure as every man has need, Oh, how high a dignity, how tremendous a responsibility! The Bible, that vast body of divinely inspired literature, so justly called in mediæval times—the Bibliotheca, the Library—what a task to understand it aright! What an honour to be permitted to make clear its meaning to the children of God!

By a coincidence, which reverent minds will perhaps not regard as merely accidental, almost contemporaneously with the promulgation of the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, a succession of highly interesting and valuable discoveries of ecclesiastical remains of an early date, illustrating the practice of the Church in the rite of the ordination of the clergy, were presented to the

learned world. It is true that as yet there is much uncertainty as to the dates of more than one of these ancient documents. But this much may be said, there are some of them unquestionably earlier than any Western form of ordination now known. Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury has dealt with the matter in his valuable work, *The Ministry of Grace*, and Dr Maclean¹ more recently has in a briefer way told us many of the results of a study of these discoveries.² To one point only I shall here refer. If the test for the validity of a form for the Ordination of Priests laid down by Leo XIII. be sound, then there were no priests in certain of the ancient Churches of the East.

What largely occupies men's thoughts will find expression in prayer. And when in the early Church Orders we find that in the prayers at the ordination of presbyters there is no reference, or only incidental reference, to the celebration of the Eucharist, it seems certain that this function of the priesthood, important though it was esteemed, was quite overshadowed by the thought of other functions. I take as an example the form for the

¹ Now Bishop of Moray.

² See *Recent Discoveries illustrating Early Christian Worship*, 1904.

ordination of a presbyter in the liturgical work which bears the name of Sarapion, presumably the Bishop of Thmuis, in Egypt, the intimate friend of St Athanasius and of St Anthony. It runs: "O Lord God of the Heavens, Father of Thine Only-begotten, we stretch forth the hand upon this man, and we pray that the spirit of truth may abide with him. Grant to him prudence and knowledge, and a good heart. May there be in him a divine spirit, so that he may be able to act the part of a steward to Thy people, and of an ambassador of Thy divine oracles,¹ and to reconcile Thy people to Thee, the unbegotten God. Thou, who didst bestow from the spirit of Moses the Holy Spirit upon the chosen ones [that is, the seventy elders], grant a share of the Holy Spirit to this man from the Spirit of the Only-begotten, unto the grace of wisdom and knowledge and a right faith, in order that he may be able to serve Thee in a pure conscience through Thine Only-begotten Jesus Christ, through whom be to Thee the glory and the might in the Holy Spirit both now and unto all the ages of the ages. Amen."²

¹ Perhaps in the sense of "interpreter." Compare 2 Chron. xxxii. 31 in LXX. and Hebrew.

² Wobbermin's *Altchristliche Liturgische Stücke*, p. 11. "Holy Spirit" is throughout without the article; but I think

The reference in this prayer to the seventy *elders*, of whom it is said that the Lord took of the spirit which was upon Moses and put it upon them, is interesting. Their office was to assist Moses in the governing of the people of the Lord, and to declare the mind of the Lord to the people. And when the Spirit of the Lord was bestowed upon the elders, as the narrative tells us, "they prophesied, and did not cease." Sarapion found his Old Testament analogy for the Christian Presbyters not in the sons of Aaron the Priest, but in the elders of the congregation. The reference to Moses and the elders appears also in *The Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 16), and in that remarkable work *The Testament of our Lord* (p. 91, Cooper and Maclean's edit.: Rahmani's edit., pp. 68, 69), and I learn from Dr Maclean's notes that it appears also in the Ethiopic Church Order. In later Ordinals, as in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, the sons of Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar, make their

the true sense is given as I have rendered it. The punctuation of the passage beginning above with "Thou who didst bestow" is different from the Greek printed text, but I am confident it is correct. After the above sentence was written I had the satisfaction of finding that in the matter of punctuation I am in accord with the text of Sarapion as edited by Mr F. E. Brightman, in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (i. 266).

appearance, as well as the seventy elders, with a reference to *salutares hostiæ*, and so it continues in the present Roman Pontifical. Of course, the slightest acquaintance with early patristic literature makes us familiar with the important place in Christian worship held by the Eucharist. The point to which I wish to direct attention is the entire absence, or all but entire absence, of reference to any of the functions which nowadays would be called distinctively or peculiarly sacerdotal. It is certainly an interesting phenomenon, and, as I think, not lacking in suggestiveness.

As to the *essentials* of the rite, in my judgment they consist (1) in the act of the whole Church, whether represented by the bishop alone, as in the East, or by the bishop assisted by presbyters, as in the West; or, possibly, as maintained by so many of the most distinguished of the Anglican theologians, by presbyters, when bishops were not to be had. Observe the rigid qualification "when bishops were not to be had." All *early history* is against the practice of presbyters alone exercising the right to ordain. But it is in theory quite conceivable that they may possess the inherent power though they have under normal conditions no right to *exercise* the power. The essential is that it should be the act of

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the corporate body as represented by its chief officers. (2) There should be a clear designation of the person whom it is intended to ordain. This is conveniently done by the laying on of hands, which is a practice traceable to the age of the Apostles themselves. (3) There should be a specification of the *office* which it is intended to bestow. It is not essential that the specification of the office should be expressed at any one particular part of the service, it is enough if the whole service leaves no doubt as to the intention of the Church. (4) There should be a prayer for God's blessing.

I need not tell those whom I address a fact so well known to every one with the slightest tincture of liturgical learning, that the words "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit," etc., are no essentials of ordination. No early form of ordination is found to possess them.¹ I will not occupy time in the discussion (very interesting from an antiquarian point of view) whether it was eight hundred or nine hundred years that had elapsed from the time of Christ before this form first makes its appearance. It is certain they appear for

¹ The student is referred to the great work of Jean Morin, *Commentarius de sacris ecclesie ordinationibus*, etc. (Paris: 1655), a work which has not been superseded

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the first time (so far as our knowledge goes) when, as regards ecclesiastical learning, the Church had fallen very low. But the English Reformers (though their knowledge of antiquity is quite astonishing, considering the age in which they lived) appear to have been ignorant that this element in the pre-Reformation Pontificals was not primitive, and was in fact comparatively modern. Even in those days the writings within their reach might have rendered them suspicious as to the antiquity of this feature of the Pontificals with which they were familiar.

At the present day one great branch of the Anglican Church with which we are in full communion—the Church of the United States of America—permits in the ordination of priests the omission of “*Accipe spiritum sanctum, et cætera.*” But this omission does not affect the validity of the ordinations.¹

Nevertheless it is obvious that to be a faithful dispenser of the Sacraments a right to exercise discipline, from the nature of things, must exist. If we possess a right to admit or to

¹ When “Receive the Holy Ghost,” etc., is omitted, the following is used as a substitute:—“Take thou authority to execute the Office of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the Imposition of our hands. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God and of his holy Sacraments: In the Name,” etc.

refuse admittance to the Church's sacraments, we have in its essence the power of remitting or retaining, of binding or losing, of closing the door or opening it. It is the exalted privilege of the priest to be officially authorised to declare and pronounce to God's people being penitent the absolution and remission of their sins;—to the quieting of the troubled consciences of those who cannot quiet their own consciences—to bestow the benefit of absolution by the ministry of God's word, to pray over the sick man, and, if the sick man humbly and heartily desire it, to absolve him if he repent him truly of his sin.

As against God, sins can be remitted by God alone; as against the disciplinary rules of the Christian community, the officer of the Church can remit and absolve. In the first case the priest's act is solely declaratory; in the second case it is more than declaratory, it is operative. Let us always bear in mind, when dealing with sinful men, that though we are *ambassadors* we are not *plenipotentiaries*. We are authorised to make clear the conditions upon the fulfilment of which the King of Heaven will grant forgiveness, and we are authorised to declare forgiveness when the conditions are accepted and complied with. But we are not plenipotentiaries, whose error

or precipitancy the Court of Heaven is bound to ratify and make good.

To the Apostles, to whom the power of remitting or retaining was originally committed, there was bestowed also the supernatural power of discerning spirits. The power of discerning spirits is in our day given in very various measures to various men. "It may be truly said," says the Master of the Sentences, "that all priests have not one of the two keys, inasmuch as they have not the knowledge of discernment (*scientiam discernendi*)." In other words, the promise of Christ is only effective when the power is exercised aright. The worth of any absolution of sin as against God is on all hands acknowledged to be dependent upon the *reality* of the repentance of the sinner. How awful, then, is the responsibility of the priest in the tribunal of penance, how grave his guilt if he creates a false confidence, or makes sin easier by (however unintentionally) creating the impression that the sinner (who soon feels no shyness in confession) has only to confess to the priest to gain possession of "a clean slate," upon which he can chalk a new score, to be afterwards purged out with as much ease as the former score.

A pious priest, who had a very large ex-

perience in hearing confessions, assured me that he found in a large proportion of cases there seemed little or no attempt at practical amendment of life, but only a comfortable sense that old scores had been cleared, and that new scores might be cleared in like manner. In the ancient discipline of the Church (excepting generally in the case of the dying) absolution was not pronounced till the enjoined penance had been actually performed, and the enjoined penance was a very real and serious thing. But we like to put our patch of undressed cloth, our *επίβλημα ράβδους αγνάφου*, upon the old garment—and the natural consequence ensues.

There is no doubt that the mind of our Mother—the Church of the Anglican reform—throws the main emphasis on the duties of the priest as Pastor. Priests are appointed to be “Messengers, Watchmen, and Stewards of the Lord.” As messengers, priests have the duty of conveying the message which God has revealed in Holy Scripture, that so the flock may be fed. And yet, my brethren, how often have we, with shame and humiliation, to confess that “the hungry sheep look up, and are not fed”! Let us take to ourselves the lesson of the graphic picture portrayed in that memorable line of the great

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poet and prophet—"The hungry sheep look up,—*and are not fed.*" And yet what were we appointed for? St Paul tells us in his address to the elders of Ephesus. We are appointed as overseers, "to *feed* (*ποιμαίνειν*) the Church of God, which He has purchased with His own blood."

An ordination address can never fail to be, in effect, a reminder of duty, not only to the ordinand, but also (and in truth in no less degree) to the Bishop himself and the assisting Presbyters. We all of us need the reminder: and no less do we need the warning of the first part of the Apostle's injunction—"Take heed unto *yourselves.*" We have first to strive to make *our own* lives conformable to the law of Christ, and *then*, in the strength of Christ, we may enter on the arduous duties of the pastoral office. "Take heed unto *yourselves*, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers." Else what a mockery, and how unutterably mean is the life of the ordained priest!

I quoted a few moments ago the picture of the unfed hungry sheep—a picture dashed with lurid light by the genius of a great poet; let me close with another picture—a picture which, however familiar to you, is never failing in its beauty and winning attractive-

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ness, which brings to us a model for ourselves from mediæval England of the fourteenth century. It is the well-known picture which Chaucer presents to us of the parson of an English parish. He was poor—

“ But rich he was in holy thought and werk ;
He was also a learned man, a clerk,
That Christës gospel trewely would preche,
His parishens devoutly would he teache.

* * * * *

And Christës lore and his apostles twelve
He taughte, but first he followed it himselve.

May such a life, my brothers, be ours !

APPENDIX

THE PRAYER OF HUMBLE ACCESS¹

THE prayer commonly known as the "Prayer of Humble Access" (a name that seems to be borrowed from "The Booke of Common Prayer . . . for the use of the Church of Scotland." Edinburgh: 1637) presents some curious and interesting features; and the source from which it was derived is a matter of conjecture; if, indeed, we are not compelled to suspect it to be, in form, an original composition of Archbishop Cranmer, or of those associated with him in matters liturgical.

1. The most striking feature is the clause, "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood." Students of the Prayer-Book need not be reminded that in "The Order of the Communion," 1548, in which this prayer first makes its appearance, the thought referred to was further emphasised

¹ This paper is reprinted, by permission, from the *Irish Church Quarterly Review*.

in a very remarkable way by the words of delivery. "The sacrament of the body of Christ" was delivered with the words: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life"; "the sacrament of the blood," with these words: "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul to everlasting life." In the following year Cranmer and his associates seem to have thought better as regards the words of delivery; and the formula of 1549 in each case gives us "thy body and soul." The Prayer of Humble Access is therefore a survival or relic of the stage of transition.

Writing of some who opposed "The Order of the Communion," Gilbert Burnet remarks: "Others censured the words in distributing the two kinds in the Lord's Supper: the *body* being given for preserving the *body*, and the *blood* of Christ for preserving the *soul*. This was thought done on design to possess the people with an high value of the chalice, as that which preserved their *souls*; whereas the bread was only for the preservation of their *bodies*. But Cranmer, being ready to change anything for which he saw good reason, did afterwards so alter it, that in both it was said, *Preserve thy body and soul*: and yet it stands

so in the prayer, *We do not presume, etc.*"¹ One could wish that Burnet had given the historical evidence for the criticism on the ground stated above. But if it be only a conjecture, it is at least a very probable conjecture.

2. So far as I am aware an exact parallel to the words used in 1548 for administering the Sacrament is not to be found. Yet there are forms in certain ancient missals which, though not, like the forms of 1548, connecting the thought of the Body of Christ more particularly with the body of the recipient, seem to emphasise the relation of the Blood of Christ to the soul. Thus, in a missal of Subiaco, which, according to Martène, was written in A.D. 1075, we find, "Cum sanguis datur. Sanguis Domini nostri Jēsu Christi conservet animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen." Here, but for the insertion of the clause "which was shed for thee,"² we find the exact form of 1548 for administering the chalice. But the preceding form, "cum sacerdos aliquem communicat," does not correspond with the English form of 1548, for it runs, "Perceptio corporis Domini nostri Jesu

¹ "History of the Reformation" (N. Pocock's edit.), ii. 136.

² See what is said on the importance attached to these words at the time of the Reformation, pp. 236, 237.

Christi prosit animæ tuæ et corpori in vitam æternam. Amen.”¹ A similar feature presents itself in an ancient missal of the Monastery of St Theodoric, near Rheims: “The Body is ‘ad salutem animæ et corporis,’ while at receiving the Blood the form is, ‘Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui ex latere suo processit, salvet animam meam, et perducatur in vitam æternam. Amen.’”² This, it will be seen, bears considerable resemblance to the form of 1548. These forms are, without doubt, highly exceptional, although, as will appear, there are forms in English missals which, perhaps, suggest traces of a similar way of thinking.

3. The existence of a special relation between the Body of Christ and our bodies, and between the Blood of Christ and our souls, was a not unfamiliar thought in the minds of Western, as well as of Eastern, theologians; but, though the words of delivery in the Order of 1548 have no exact parallel, it is possible, as Archdeacon Freeman³ has hinted, that they were suggested by formulæ in the York Missal. These it may be convenient to the reader to transcribe here. The

¹ “De Antiq. Eccl. Rit., i. col. 426 (edit. 1736)."

² “De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.,” i. col. 552. Martène describes the MS. as “Annorum circiter 800.”

³ “Principles of Divine Service,” vol. ii., part ii., p. 426.

celebrant, when communicating himself, said (*ad corpus*): "Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit mihi remedium sempiternum in vitam æternam. Amen"; (*ad sanguinem*) "Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet me in vitam æternam. Amen"; (*ad corpus et sanguinem*) "Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat corpus meum et animam meam in vitam æternam. Amen."¹

It is all but absolutely certain that the Mozarabic Missal was in the hands of our Reformers (as is shown by a comparison of the Office for Baptism in the Prayer-Book of 1549 with the Mozarabic rite for the Benediction of the Font);² and when we turn to that book we find the same formula as the last of those in the York Missal, with the sole insignificant exception of the omission of the word "meum" after "corpus."³ I think it not improbable that in the York and Mozarabic formulæ we have a reminiscence of the notion of the special relation of the Body of Christ with the body, and of His Blood with the soul; but it must be admitted that the expression of the thought is obscure.

¹ With *remedium* compare the Ignatian *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*.

² See Dowden's "Workmanship of the Prayer Book," chap. iii.

³ "Missale Mixtum": edit. Migne, P.L., coll. 120, 566-67.

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4. It is singular that the difficulties presented by the Prayer of Humble Access have been touched by scarcely any of the numerous commentators on the Book of Common Prayer. Mr Scudamore, in his "Notitia Eucharistica," is an exception. He has seriously investigated the question of the origin of the prayer.¹ In regard to the wording of our Prayer, "that our bodies 'may be made clean' by his Body and our souls 'washed' through His most precious Blood," Mr Scudamore compares a prayer in the Hereford Missal to be said by the Priest before communicating, "*obsecrantes ut peccata quæ ex carne et sanguine contraximus caro mundet, sanguis lavet unigeniti Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi.*"

This prayer, I may add, is also to be found in the Westminster Missal,² and, according to Maskell, in a missal, now in the British Museum, which is said to have belonged to the Church of St Paul, London,³ and which is otherwise, substantially, a Sarum book. The prayer, it may be

¹ "Notit. Euch." (2nd edit.), pp. 545-547; compare pp. 747-748.

² Edited by Dr. J. Wickham Legg for the "Henry Bradshaw Society," Fascic. ii., col. 519.

³ "The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England" (3rd edit.), p. 180; see also Preface, pp. lxvii.-lxviii.

observed, was not confined to England. Martène notes its appearance in a missal of the Cathedral Church of Angers, also in a missal of the Monastery of St Maur des Fossés and in two other monastic missals belonging to Lier, in Brabant.¹ But a clear and distinct association in thought of the soul with the Blood of Christ is here lacking. Still it seems not improbable that a reminiscence of this prayer may have suggested, at least, the choice of the verbs "made clean,"—"washed," in the sentence of our Prayer of Humble Access.

5. A parallel much closer as regards the central thought may be found, as is well known, in the Syriac Liturgy of St James, where, before the Communion, the prayer runs: "Vouchsafe us, O Lord God, that our bodies may be made holy by Thy holy Body, and our souls made radiant by Thy propitiatory Blood."² But as a possible source of the form in our English Prayer-Book this must be dismissed. There does not seem to be any ground for supposing that our Reformers in 1548 could have been acquainted with the Syriac form of St James's Liturgy. Indeed, it may be gravely questioned whether even the

¹ "De Antiq. Eccl. Rit." (edit. 1736), i. col. 426.

² I have followed the rendering in Brightman's "Liturgies—Eastern and Western," i. 102.

better-known Greek Liturgy of St James was within the knowledge of the earlier English Reformers, except, possibly, by the very meagre and imperfect notices of it in Cardinal Bessarion's treatise. But this latter question is, for our purpose, of no importance, as the prayer referred to does not appear in that liturgy.¹

6. The influence of German "Kirchen-Ordnungen" of the sixteenth century upon the English Prayer-Book was unquestionably large, more especially that of the "Brandenburg-Nuremberg Kirchen-Ordnung" (1533), and this (mainly) indirectly through the "Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio" (1545) of Archbishop Hermann. Indeed, notwithstanding recent study of German Church-books, the indebtedness of our Reformers to them has not yet been adequately recognised. I have, however, in vain searched the Brandenburg-Nuremberg book and the "Deliberatio" for a parallel to the Prayer of Humble Access. Nor is it to be found, I think, in any of the Lutheran Church Orders printed by Dr. Æ. L. Richter. A thorough examination of the early "Kirchen-Ordnungen" is, doubtless, desirable. But I

¹ The Syriac Liturgy of S. Xystus has a similar prayer to that in Syriac St James. See Renaudot, "Liturg. Orient.," ii. 141 (edit. 1847).

am disposed to think that the particular thought of the prayer in question is traceable to other sources than the reformed service-books of Germany.

7. There is no need to say anything of the familiar conception of the relation of the Eucharist to immortality and the resurrection of the body. From the *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας* of Ignatius (*ad Ephes.* c. xx.) onward the thought, either clearly expressed or alluded to, is very frequent. But less distinct, in Christian literature is the thought of the special relation of the Body of Christ to the body of the recipient of the Eucharist, and of the Blood to his soul. An interesting inquiry, but beyond the scope of the present note, would be to collect the passages of patristic writings that illustrate this subject. I turn rather to consider some of the later literature which was certain, or all but certain, to have been known to Cranmer and his associates.

The question of communion in both kinds is scarcely alluded to in Cranmer's controversial writings. But Thomas Becon, his chaplain, dealing with the subject in his "Catechism," refers to a well-known gloss on a passage in the "Decretum" (pars iii., "de Consec.," dist. ii. can. 12) as follows:—

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“ Pope Gelasius commanded that the whole sacrament should be received in both kinds severally, according to the institution of Christ, or else that whosoever would attempt the contrary, taking only the mystery of Christ's body and abstain from the cup, should be restrained from the whole sacrament. He addeth moreover that ‘the division of one and the same mystery cannot be done without great sacrilege.’ And the gloss of the aforesaid decree of Gelasius hath these words: ‘The sacrament is not superfluously received under both kinds. For the kind [*species*] of bread is referred unto the flesh, and the kind of wine unto the soul; when one¹ is the sacrament of the blood in the which is the seat of the soul. And therefore is the sacrament received under both kinds, that it may be signified that Christ took both the flesh and the soul, and that the participation of the sacrament is profitable as well for the soul as the body: so that if it should be taken only under one kind, it should be signified that it profiteth unto the tuition and preservation of the one only.’ ”²

We are not concerned with the value of the title which has been prefixed in the “Corpus

¹The word “one” is probably a misprint for “wine,” the original Latin giving “vinum.”

²“Works of Thomas Becon (P.S.): Catechism,” 243.

Juris Canonici," making the decree of Pope Gelasius apply only to the *priest*. All that is here to be considered is the fact that the decree of Gelasius and the gloss upon it must have been quite familiar to every tyro in Canon Law, not to say to an accomplished canonist like Cranmer. But it is well here to call attention to a statement which in the mediæval period carried the authoritative name of St Ambrose, although it has in modern times been commonly assigned to some author of the name of Hilary, and generally to Hilary the Deacon.¹ The passage from a Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians is cited, and explained (or, as some will think, explained away) by Peter Lombard, as also by Aquinas, and by others of the numerous commentators on Peter Lombard's "Sentences"; and thus it became one of the commonplaces of theological thought. The words of primary significance ran thus:—"Caro enim salvatoris pro salute corporis, sanguis vero pro anima nostra effusus est, sicut prius præfiguratum a Moyse. Sic enim ait, Caro, inquit, pro corpore vestro offertur; sanguis vero pro anima." The reference is apparently to Lev. xvii. 11 (Quia anima carnis in sanguine). It may be observed

¹ It is admitted that the writer was earlier than St Augustine, who cites him.

that in the text of this Pseudo-Ambrose immediately preceding the above words we find the statement, "Sanguis Domini sanguinem nostrum redemit, id est, totum hominem saluum fecit."¹ But we are here not concerned with the interpretation of this writer. The passage is cited to show that it presented a difficulty to theologians as soon as the conceptions which culminated in the doctrine of concomitance began to be general. It was, as has been said, discussed by the leading Schoolmen.

Thomas Becon in two of his works cites the passage from Ambrose (Ambrosiaster), in his "Catechism" (P.S. 244), and again in "Certayne Articles of Christen Religion" (P.S., "Prayers, etc.," 413). In both works he also cites Aquinas ("Summa Theol.," Pars iii., quæst. lxxiv., art. 1) to the effect that "the Body is given (*exhibetur*) for the salvation of the body, and the Blood for the salvation of the soul."

Again, Cranmer's distinguished predecessor in the See of Canterbury, the philosophic Anselm, wrote as follows:—

"Observe that, because the whole of human nature in soul and body was corrupt, it was meet that God, who was coming to deliver both, should be united to both; that man's

¹ "Comment. in Epist. ad Cor. i., cap. xi."

soul should be redeemed by Christ's Soul and his body by Christ's Body. So too we place bread and wine upon the altar to represent each, that we may believe that by bread made Body, and worthily received by us, our body will be conformed to the Body of Christ in immortality and impassibility; and similarly that by wine turned into Blood (*in sanguinem conversum*) and received by us our souls become conformed to the soul of Christ" (Epist. cvii.)."

Anselm then goes on to say that blood is the seat of the soul (*sedes animæ*): but warns against supposing that under each kind we do not receive the whole Christ—God and man. If we may trust J. C. L. Giesler, Anselm of Canterbury was the first writer to assert with certainty "in utraque specie totum Christum sumi."¹

It is plain from the preceding remarks of Anselm that he would not have regarded language such as appears in the Prayer of Humble Access as incompatible with the doctrine to which Aquinas gave the name, "concomitance."

Attention may also be directed to the liturgical treatise, "De Ecclesiastico Officio," commonly attributed to Amalarius Fortunatus,

¹ "Eccl. History" (English Translation), iii. 316.

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written in the early part of the ninth century. There (Lib. iii., cap. 31), in a comment on the practice of placing a fragment of the host in the chalice, we read, "In isto officio monstratur sanguinem fusum pro nostra anima et carnem mortuam pro nostro corpore redire ad propriam substantiam, atque spiritu vivificante vegetari hominem novum, ut ultra non moriatur qui pro nobis mortuus fuit et resurrexit."¹ Again, the well-known work, "Theologia Naturalis," of Raymund de Sabunde, in dealing with the Eucharist, has "panis significat corpus et vinum significat animam" (Tit. ccxxxvii.).

Again, there may be added an illustrative passage from the widely popular and familiar "Rationale" of Durandus. After his characteristic and fanciful manner Durandus explains why in the ritual of the altar the priest when communicating takes the consecrated host from the altar or the paten with his own hands, while he does not take the chalice, which is lifted by the deacon and reached to him. He tells us that the taking of the Body of Christ represents the restoration and resurrection of our *bodies*

¹ Hittorpius, "De Divinis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Officiis" (edit. 1568), 204. I see in Mr Burbidge's List of MSS. in Archbishop Cranmer's library, Amalarius' "De concordia officiorum"; but I have had no opportunity of examining the MS. which is in the British Museum.

which Christ will perfect and effect by His own power, *nullius ministerio* : while the taking of the chalice represents the redemption of our souls, which is effected by the intercessions of others (Lib. iv., cap. liv.). In an earlier chapter (xlii.) Durandus tells us that the bread is referred to the body and the wine to the soul "because wine makes blood in which is the seat of the soul." We need not reflect on the silliness of the ritual explanation of the ceremonial of the altar; we are concerned only in showing that the thought of the special relation of the Body of Christ to the body of the recipient, and of the Blood of Christ to his soul was given expression to in a book so widely circulated.¹

8. When we reach the era of the Reformation the passage from Ambrosiaster (cited as from Ambrose) was not forgotten. The Provincial Council of Cologne, celebrated in 1536 under Archbishop Hermann, was moving on lines of reform, but as yet with considerable caution. It is remarkable at that date to find in its "Acta" the description of those who left the Church after the elevation as "non expectantes

¹ There were printed editions in 1459, 1470, 1473 (two editions—one at Rome, one at Ulm), 1475, 1477, and frequently at later dates. There were two copies of the Rationale (Lyons, 1506, and Lyons, 1508) in Cranmer's library. See Burbidge, xxviii.

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præcipuam Missæ partem, quæ est Communio."¹ And the parish priest is charged to instruct the laity, whose consciences may be troubled at receiving only in one kind, "corpus et sanguinem Domini in altera tantum specie perfecte consistere."² Yet the "Institutio Compendaria Doctrinæ Christianæ," promised by the Council, and published at the same time as the Canons, cites, as from Ambrose, "Valet enim ad tuitionem animæ et corporis, quod percipimus: quia caro Christi pro salute corporis, sanguis vero pro anima nostra offertur."³ It is plain that the passage was not reckoned by Archbishop Hermann, any more than by earlier writers, as in any sense incompatible with the doctrine of concomitance. When in 1545 Hermann published his "Simplex ac Pia Deliberatio," in which the partaking of the Cup by the lay-people was now enjoined and provided for, the change from the customary practice of the time is based solely on the authority of Holy Scripture and the usage of the ancient Church.⁴ It is in a like spirit that we find the English Act of Parliament of 1547 which dealt with the subject declaring that it was more agreeable

¹ "Canones Concilii Provincialis Coloniensis" (edit. 1538), "De Administ. Sacrament," cap. 26.

² *Ibid.*, cap. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, fol. 94, verso.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 87, recto.

to Christ's first institution and the practice of the Church for five hundred years and more after Christ's Ascension that the Sacrament should be given in both kinds of bread and wine rather than in one kind only. Therefore it was enacted that the Sacrament should be commonly given in both kinds, "except necessity otherwise require it."¹ This last proviso is important, as raising the presumption that the notion of concomitance had not been abandoned; and the clause appears not only in the Act of Parliament, but also in the King's Proclamation prefixed to "The Order of the Communion" which appeared on 8th March, 1548. Or, if this supposition be regarded as not consistent with Cranmer's opinions (at this date) upon the Eucharist, we are led to think that at least he must have supposed that the spiritual benefits of the Holy Communion were not denied to those who in cases of necessity received in one kind. The nature of the "necessity" is not explained: but it is worth while comparing a passage from "*Articuli de quibus egerunt per Visitatores in regione Saxoniz*" (*Wittembergæ*: 1527), where pastors are enjoined to teach the people that, after the example of Christ's institution, the Sacrament should be taken

¹ 1 Edward VI., cap. i.

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in both kinds, but it is added that "if any be still weak and not sufficiently instructed, concession is to be made to their conscience, so that they may use only one kind."¹ This regulation is in effect repeated in the "Unterricht der Visitatorn" of 1528.²

I venture to add one other citation of a well-known writer of the period of the Reformation, and I do so with the observation that it is absolutely demonstrable that Archbishop Cranmer was acquainted with the work from which I cite. Clichtoveus was an eminent Flemish theologian, who became a canon of the cathedral of Châtres. He wrote in defence of the current doctrine of the Eucharist against the Lutherans.³ But the work from which I cite is a commentary on the Hymns, Canticles, and Proses, used in the Church, and on the Prefaces and Canon of the Mass. It is entitled, "Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum." It was first published in 1516, and went through several editions. It has been pointed out by Abbot Gasquet and Mr Bishop that in Cranmer's scheme for a reformed Breviary, the text of the hymns was

¹ "The Visitation of the Saxon Reformed Church, 1527 and 1528" (edited by Archbishop Laurence, 1839), p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

³ "De Sacramento Eucharistiæ," Paris, 1526; "Propugnaculum Ecclesiæ adversus Lutheranos," Paris, 1526.

taken from the work of Clichtoveus.¹ In his exposition of the Canon of the Mass he cites the words from Leviticus xvii. 11, as foreshadowing the truth that "God the Father has given to us that blood shed upon the altar of the Cross that in it we may purify our souls," and more to the same purport.²

It is worth observing that in the revision of 1552 not only were the words "in these holy Mysteries" omitted (after "drink his blood"), doubtless with a dogmatic significance, but also the order of the concluding clauses was altered. While they ran in 1548 and 1549 "that we may continually dwell in him and he in us, that our sinful bodies . . . his most precious blood," in 1552 our present order was adopted, and the two clauses connected by the word "and." The present form, in this latter respect, reads more smoothly; and it avoids the possible construction that the design and purport of the union with Christ was the cleansing of the body and soul; while we should rather imagine that the cleansing was with a view to the union. Whatever may be thought of the dogmatic changes of the Prayer-Book of 1552, there were unquestionably numerous improvements from a literary view-

¹ See what is said at p. 76.

² Edit. Paris, 1558, fol. 153, *verso*.

point, and this may be reckoned among them.

9. We now turn to another interesting feature. It is strange that the similarity has not been generally noticed between the opening of our prayer and the opening of one of the "*Orationes pro opportunitate sacerdotis ante celebrationem et communionem dicendæ*," which may be found in any modern Roman Missal. The words run: "*Ad mensam dulcissimi convivii tui, pie Domine Jesu Christe, ego peccator de propriis meritis nihil præsumens sed de tua confidens misericordia et bonitate*," etc. The similiarity in thought and in language does not extend beyond these opening words: but to this extent it is so striking that I thought it worth while to make some inquiry as to whether the expressions might not have been known to Cranmer. It turns out that, while the prayer referred to is apparently of extremely rare occurrence in pre-Reformation missals, examples are to be found in which the prayer occurs. Thus, the prayer may be found in a "*Missale ad sacrosancte Romane ecclesie usum*" of 1529 (wanting the colophon), now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It is supposed that this edition issued from the press of Paris. The prayer is not to be found, so far as I

know, in any English Missal, and through the courtesy of the Rev. H. A. Wilson, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, a liturgist of great eminence and learning, I am able to say that out of 55 missals in the Bodleian, printed before 1548, examined by Mr. Wilson, only one yields this prayer, the *Missale secundum ritum ecclesie sancte romane . . . Venumdantur Lugduni ab Stephano Gueynard prope sanctum Antonium*. The date is given in the colophon as 1511.¹ But it is of interest to note that the idea of introducing, as a public prayer immediately before the priest's administering the Sacrament to himself and the people, one of the prayers which might be used by the priest privately before communicating, had been suggested long before in what is known as Luther's Latin Mass of 1523. The passage which I refer to runs thus: "Then shall he [the priest] communicate both himself and the people, and in the meantime let the *Agnus Dei* be sung. But if he wishes before recep-

¹ It may be mentioned as of interest that this prayer appears in another Roman Missal, also of the Lyons press, and bearing date 1550. This is indeed too late for our purpose; but it may be noted that this Lyons Missal was an edition which was meant to be a sort of companion to Quignon's Breviary. Though published "cum privilegiis summi Pontificis, Regis Galliae, et Senatus Veneti," it was, by-and-by, put upon the "Index," and is described by Guéranger as containing "grand nombre de nouveautés des plus audacieuses."

tion (*ante sumptionem*) to use the prayer, 'Domine, Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris,' etc., he will pray well (*non male orabit*), only changing the singular number into the plural [and saying] *nostris et nos* for *meis et me*." The particular prayer referred to was used by the priest before communicating himself according to the uses of Sarum, York, Hereford, Rouen, and Paris.¹ It was also, doubtless, to be found in the missal of some German "use," which Luther had been accustomed to employ. It bears, however, no resemblance to our Prayer of Humble Access; but it may well have suggested the thought of the fitness of some prayer immediately before communicating.

It need not be said that in the forms of preparation for celebrating Mass most missals contained prayers expressive of entire unworthiness and trust in the mercy of God. But to the language of our Prayer of Humble Access (excepting the resemblances already pointed out to the opening words) I have as yet been unable to find any parallel. The particular point to which I would especially invite the attention of inquirers is the expression "we are not worthy so much as to gather

¹ See Dr Wickham Legg's notes to the Westminster Missal (H.B.S.), iii., 1506.

up the crumbs under thy table." We want liturgical parallels.

10. A question has been raised bearing on the interpretation of certain words in this prayer, which has roused some interest because of its supposed dogmatic significance. The words I refer to are: "Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ and to drink his blood that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body and our souls washed through his most precious blood," etc. It has been urged that here we have the distinct testimony of the Church of England to the belief that we may eat Christ's body and drink His blood, and yet not eat and drink them to our profit. It is urged that this is a proof by implication that the Church of England teaches that unworthy communicants *do* eat the body of Christ and drink His blood, though not to their profit but rather to their condemnation. The inference is brought out, it is urged, by an emphasis on the word *so*, in the expression, "Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat." The expression, if we were to isolate it from all the other teaching of the formularies of the Church of England, is certainly patient of that interpretation. But the question is, "Is that interpretation the *necessary* interpretation?"

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It seems plain from an examination of contemporary literature that it was more common in the English of the sixteenth century to separate "so" and "that" than it is with us where we should now express the meaning by using the words "so that" in close conjunction as indicating the end sought, or the purpose intended. One need not go beyond the Prayer-Book itself for illustrations of the sense in some cases where "so" and "that" are separated.

(1) Indeed the Communion Service itself furnishes us with a very pertinent example. In the second (the alternative) post-Communion prayer we say, "We most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace that we may continue in that holy fellowship," etc. Should we be justified from this in inferring that God might assist us in such a way that we should *not* continue in that holy fellowship? I think the meaning is not necessarily anything different from "We most humbly beseech thee . . . to assist us with thy heavenly grace so that we may continue in that holy fellowship."

(2) Another, and, perhaps, more striking example of the same sense of the separated "so" and "that" will be found in the Collect for the Feast of St Simon and St Jude:

“Grant us so to be joined together in unity of spirit by their doctrine, that we may be made a holy temple acceptable unto thee.” Could it be justly inferred from this that we might be joined together in unity of spirit by their doctrine in some other way which would result in our not being made a holy temple acceptable to God?

(3) Again, in the Service of Confirmation we pray: “So lead them in the knowledge and obedience of thy Word that in the end they may obtain everlasting life.” Should we be justified in inferring that God might in some other way so lead Christians in the knowledge and obedience of His Word that they might not obtain everlasting life?

(4) Again, in the Service for Matrimony, in the priest’s blessing of the married couple it is prayed that God would so fill them with all spiritual benediction and grace that they might so live together in this life that in the world to come they might have life everlasting. Can it be justly inferred that God might fill them with all spiritual benediction and grace in such a manner as would *not* involve a dutiful life here and in the world to come life everlasting?

Other examples of the same construction will be found in (5) the Collect for the Third

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Sunday in Advent, (6) the Collect for All Saints' Day.

(7) I will cite at length only two or three other examples: first (from the Collect for the Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity), "Grant, we beseech thee, that we may so faithfully serve thee in this life that we fail not finally to attain thy heavenly promises"; (8) secondly (from one of the prayers in the Communion), "So turn thine anger from us . . . and so make haste to help us . . . that we may ever live with thee," etc. (9) From the prayer for the King, "So replenish him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit that he may always incline to thy will and walk in thy way."

It is plain that it is, to say the least, very hazardous to base a theological argument on the expression referred to in the Prayer of Humble Access.¹

We do not possess Latin parallels to all the

¹ If my memory is not at fault, it was a magazine article by Professor John Conington, published many years ago (but *where* I cannot recollect), which first suggested to me what I take to be the true sense of "so . . . that" in the Prayer of Humble Access. Since then the same way of understanding the expression was maintained in *Papers on the Doctrine of the English Church concerning the Eucharistic Presence*, by an English Presbyter (pp. 436-39). The authorship of this work (displaying a great wealth of accurate learning in the literature of the period of the Reformation) has been acknowledged by Rev. Nathaniel Dimock.

above examples, but in the fourth—from the Service for Matrimony—we have “impleat [Dominus] vos omni benedictione spirituali . . . ut habeatis vitam æternam.” And the same Latin construction will be found in the seventh, the Collect for the Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity.



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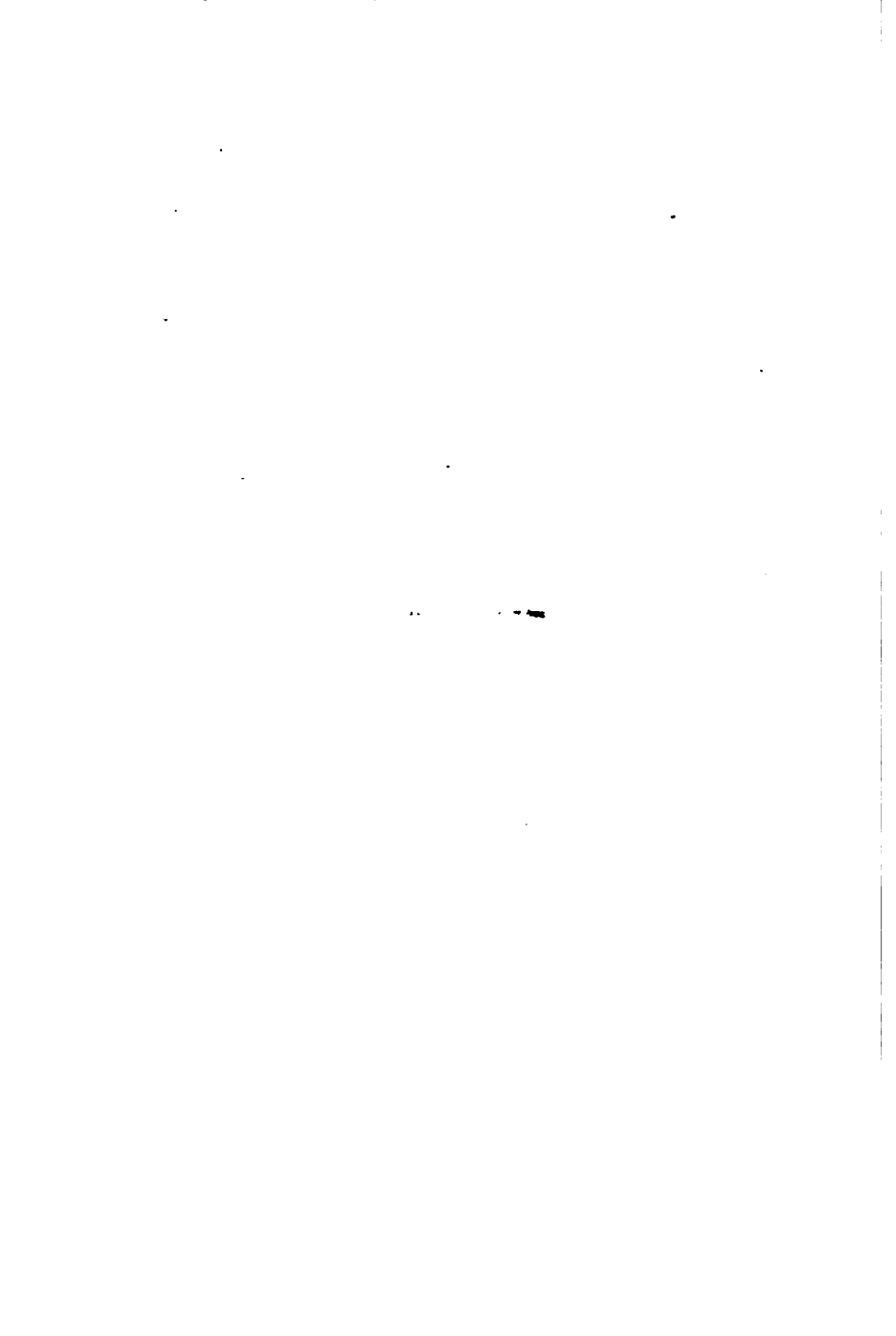
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